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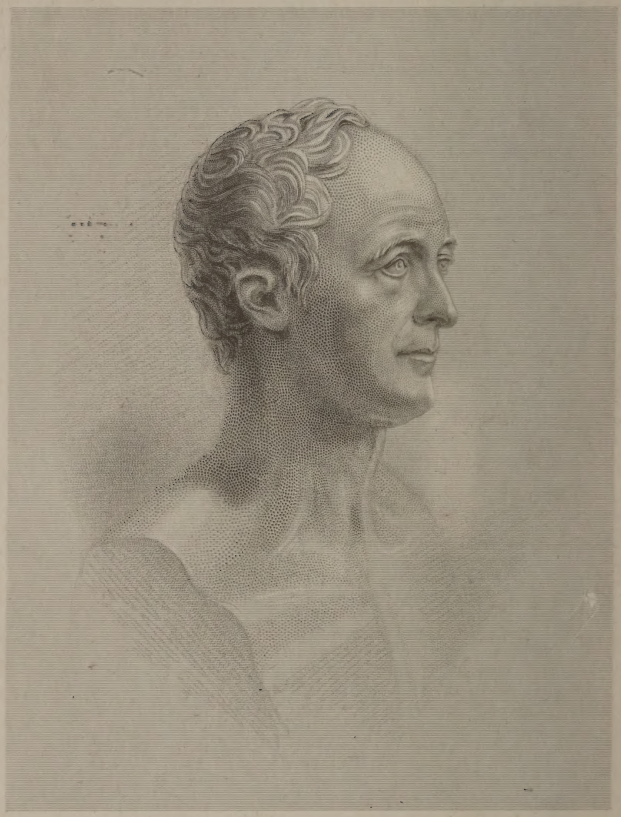
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T. S. Hughes

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE II.

BY HUME AND SMOLLETT.

WITH

THE CONTINUATION,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.

TO THE

ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

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A NEW EDITION.

VOL. XI.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL, 186 FLEET STREET.
1855.

"Histories," says Lord Bacon, "make wise men:" and in proportion as their minds are influenced by a natural love of their country, so must they feel a desire to become familiar with the most authentic account of its origin, its progress towards civilization, and the circumstances leading to its present importance in the scale of nations.

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THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

BY

THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B.D.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

A.D. 1760 TO A.D. 1766.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

THOMAS S. HUGHES.

Thomas Smart Hughes, eldest surviving son of the Rev. Hugh Hughes, Curate of Nuneaton, Warwickshire, and also incumbent of Wolsey and Hardwick, was born at Nuneaton, August 25, 1786.

He received his earliest instruction from the Rev. J. S. Cobbold, first as a boy at the Nuneaton Grammar School, and afterwards, as a private pupil, at Wilby in Suffolk. Even at that time he already began to show decided signs, not only of his future ability, but of the special form in which it was to develope itself. Quickness in acquisition, especially of language, considerable imagination and originality, and great refinement of taste, were at all times more characteristic of his mind, than any unusual powers of reasoning or of thought: and these intellectual qualities were naturally accordant with the warm and affectionate temper, passionately excitable,* and often childlike in its simplicity and enthusiasm, which remained, even to the last, almost unaffected by the experience of life. It was not to be expected that such a disposition could pass through the world without

* "Irasci celerem tamen ut placabilis esset."

being subject to many delusions and much embarrassment; but it was one singularly attractive to all with whom it came in contact; and at no one period of his life, whether in childhood, youth, or manhood, did it fail to secure him warm and lasting friendships, wherever he was really known.

These qualities, already appearing in their first imperfect forms, were seen to require a wider sphere for their due development. Accordingly in 1801 he was sent to Shrewsbury School, which was at that time just entering, under the auspices of Dr. S. Butler, (afterwards Bishop of Lichfield,) on that successful career which raised it to the highest rank in the classical schools of England. Nor were the expectations under which he entered the school at all disappointed; for, during the three years which he spent there, until he became a member of the University of Cambridge in 1803, his growth both in ability and character amply justified the hopes of his parents, and gained him the especial approbation and kindness of the head master. Mr. Hughes himself always looked back to this period of his life, with those feelings of more than ordinary gratitude, and even veneration, towards Dr. Butler, which old Shrewsbury men will easily understand. Nor did the affection between them by any means cease with the school-relations, from which it arose. During the period of Mr. Hughes's university career, his letters to his old master are full of respectful, but enthusiastic affection, and those received in return are equally remarkable for kind and unabated interest in all his pursuits and hopes; for indeed he was one of the first of the Shrewsbury men distinguished at the university, and there were none, even afterwards, in whose success Dr. Butler felt greater pride and pleasure. In later times, moreover, that same friendship continued, without a moment's interruption, until the Bishop of Lichfield's death.

Mr. Hughes was entered as a pensioner at St. John's College, Cambridge, in October 1803. His first year there

was, to a great extent, wasted. He was at all times singularly open to the influence of those with whom he associated, and he appears then to have fallen into an idle set, and to have, for the first and last time in his life, yielded to the indolent tone of such society. But in his second year he was enabled to shake off this temptation, and he accordingly set to work with a resolute and successful determination to recover his lost ground. He continued to devote himself almost entirely to classical study, to which his natural taste and powers inclined. For mathematical and metaphysical studies indeed he never cared, and he pursued them at this time no further than was sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the university course. But in his own chosen path of study he reaped an ample harvest of success. Besides college prizes and distinctions, he gained the Browne medals for the Latin ode "Mors Nelsoni," in 1806, and for the Greek ode, "In obitum Gulielmi Pitt," in 1807; and (after the B.A. degree) the Members' Prize for the Latin Essay in 1809 and 1810. These prizes, much as they are valued now, were of even higher value at a time when they were in fact the only composition prizes given by the university,[1] and when, moreover, the only higher classical distinctions open in the three years of undergraduate residence, and consequently the objects of the closest competition, were three or four university scholarships. Nor is it to be forgotten that on each occasion Mr. Hughes "succeeded against opponents, who are now the most celebrated scholars of this age and nation."[2]

The Tripos had not yet established a regular and adequate system of classical distinction; and accordingly,

[1] Since that time the Chancellor's English Medal (1813), the Camden Medal (1841), the Porson Prize (1817), and the Davies' (1810), Bell (1810), Pitt (1814), Tyrrwhitt (1819), and Crosse (1833) Scholarships have been established.

[2] Printed from a testimonial given, in 1827, by the present Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, late Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, to whose great kindness this memoir owes the most valuable portion of its information.

when Mr. Hughes took his B.A. degree in 1809, it was merely that of a senior optime, the Chancellor's Medals (which were then the only rewards of classical proficiency proposed to commencing bachelors,) being obtained in that year by the present Bishop of London and Mr. Ward. But the reputation which he gained at the university was, nevertheless, of the very highest rank. The style of classical study in those days was, generally speaking, somewhat different from that which was then arising, and which now prevails, at Cambridge. It was probably less scientific in its investigation of great principles of language, and less accurate in its inductions as to classical usage, but certainly more artistic, and perhaps more able to use its knowledge with freedom. To this older school Mr. Hughes decidedly belonged, and he joined to its qualities an extensive acquaintance with general literature, and the power of a good English style. Such was his public reputation: but with any of his old college friends, the remembrance of the private esteem and affection, which he enjoyed and deserved, as at all other times, so especially at that period of life, proverbial for its free and warm friendships, will outlast even the impression of his talents and academical success.

Almost immediately after taking his B.A. degree, Mr. Hughes was appointed to an assistant mastership at Harrow, under Dr. George Butler, the late Dean of Peterborough. In respect of classical scholarship and intellectual ability, he was eminently qualified for any such position, and it can excite no surprise to find that he left behind him a character for "sound and accomplished scholarship." His own quick and affectionate temperament gave him that power of sympathizing with the impulsive nature of boyhood, which is no less necessary to a master, and no doubt secured to him many personal attachments. But the monotony of a systematic work, which must be, to a great extent, mechanical, was unsuited to his disposition, and he had scarcely suffi-

cient discernment of character to be very successful in any post of government. After two years, therefore, he found the position irksome, and returned to Cambridge. The best fruit of his residence at Harrow was his acquaintance with Dr. G. Butler. Their intimacy, arising naturally out of school relations, ripened in after times, and by more continued intercourse, into a close and lasting friendship; and there were few, beyond the circle of Mr. Hughes's immediate family, by whom he was more deeply regretted than by the Dean of Peterborough.

Shortly after his return to Cambridge (where he was elected to a foundation fellowship at St. John's on the first opportunity), Mr. Hughes (Dec. 1812) having accepted the post of travelling tutor to Mr. R. Townley Parker, of Cuerden Hall, Lancashire, visited Spain, Italy, Sicily, Greece and Albania, during a tour of about two years. Travelling was always to him a source of almost unalloyed pleasure. It could scarcely be otherwise to one so full of spirits and physical energy, incapable of bodily fatigue or apprehension, and sanguine to a fault; so quick moreover in observation and sense of beauty, and so full of the ready disposition to admire, and to see good in all things; a disposition certainly much happier, and probably much truer in its discernment, than the captious spirit of criticism which so often assumes the character of penetration.

It was not till some years after his return that he published the history of his 'Travels in Greece and Albania' (2 vols. quarto), a work which was very favourably received, and which soon passed through two editions. The interest of all books of travels, except when they chronicle great natural or scientific discoveries, is naturally lessened by the lapse of a few years. 'Greece and Albania,' which were then lands almost unknown to the ordinary tourist, and accessible only with great difficulty, are now within the reach of every one, and have been described again and again by subsequent travellers. But Mr. Hughes's travels must always have the interest which belongs to the nar-

rative of a man who observes and thinks for himself, with all the previous advantage of an education which has made him familiar with the thoughts of others; and in particular, the sketch there given of the history and character of the famous Ali Pasha, whom they had many opportunities of seeing familiarly at Joannina, is still one of the best extant.[1]

After his return to England he resumed his university career with renewed energy and increased reputation. In September 1815 he was ordained Deacon upon his fellowship, and was soon appointed to an assistant tutorship at St. John's College. Before, however, he entered upon the duties of that post, an offer was made him (in 1815) of a fellowship and tutorship at Trinity Hall. This offer he accepted, wishing, perhaps, for a more independent position, and a college less predominantly mathematical than St. John's.

But the new sphere unfortunately proved to be too narrow; the society was necessarily limited, and the general proficiency of the undergraduates scarcely high enough to give scope to high classical talents. The step, therefore, seems to have been an unfortunate one in itself, and probably exercised an untoward influence over his future prospects. The fact is, that the large colleges at Cambridge, by their disproportionate magnitude, oppress the smaller ones. The extent of their society, and the closeness of their competitions, attract talent, and train it to especial excellence, although it may reasonably be doubted whether the greater approach to equality in these respects in the sister university may not produce a better effect on the tone of the body as a whole. Accordingly, by his migration, Mr. Hughes rather threw himself out of the line of university distinction, and the eminence which so often follows it in after life; and the step, of course, once taken, was almost irrevocable.

[1] In the 2nd edition he also added a notice of the Greek war of independence, in the success of which he was deeply interested.

In 1817 he once more received the offer of a fellowship at Emmanuel College, and he was glad thus to enter upon a wider sphere, although one far from equal to that which he had left.

In his new collegiate position he was elected Proctor in that same year. The office, as all university men know, is an honourable, but by no means an agreeable one. Its difficulty arises chiefly from the contrast between the theoretical strictness of university discipline (belonging, as it does, in great measure to bygone time, and to a very different state, both of society at large and the undergraduate body itself), and the laxity of practice which has, perhaps inevitably, succeeded. A strict adherence to the letter of the law is apt, not only to cause difficulty and unpopularity, which should be no sufficient obstacles, but also to do more harm than good, by rousing a spirit of opposition, and losing that support of opinion, without which, like the old Roman Censorship, it ceases to have any effective power. A departure from the spirit of the university discipline leads, of course, to disorder and evil; and deprives its younger members of an external assistance, with which they are not strong enough to dispense. But Mr. Hughes, at any rate, overcame these difficulties most successfully. His natural energy, and intense indignation against all which he deemed unworthy, forbade any laxity in the discharge of his duty; but, at the same time, did not prevent his securing universal popularity and respect.

In this same year, while still holding the Proctorship, he gained the Seatonian Prize, by his poem on Belshazzar's Feast. The character of English prize poems is not generally very high. Polished versification, and a certain conventional stock of poetical imagery, are supposed to be all that can be expected in productions which are called forth by the offer of a prize, and cannot therefore be considered as not spontaneous utterances of an inborn power. This may or may not be generally true. But certainly no

one can read a line of 'Belshazzar's Feast' without feeling that it contains much more than this; that there is life in it—real imagination and graphic power—as well as artificial beauty. The best proof of this was the unusual sensation which it created at the time, astonishing even Mr. Hughes's most intimate friends by the discovery of a vein of talent hitherto untouched; and that its reputation was not confined to the university, we have still a living evidence in the well-known painting of Belshazzar's Feast by Mr. Martin, the first idea of which that accomplished artist himself attributed to Mr. Hughes's poem. A work, which can inspire others, must have a living inspiration of its own.

In 1819 he received priest's orders, and was almost immediately appointed by the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Herbert Marsh, to be his domestic and examining chaplain. He, however, remained at Emmanuel, where he became Dean and Greek Lecturer, still, as usual, sustaining his high character as a scholar, and gaining new friendships in private intercourse; but he must, nevertheless, have felt that the influence belonging to a high position in a large college, and the prospects which it opens for future life, had been to a great extent sacrificed.

In 1822 he published a work of a more fugitive but a more popular character, 'An Address to the People of England in the cause of the Greeks.' The publication was "occasioned by the late inhuman massacres in Scio," and elsewhere, which disgraced the Turkish cause in the Greek war of independence. It is written in all the fervour of a righteous indignation, in behalf of a people in whom Mr. Hughes had learnt to take a deep interest since his travels in their oppressed country; and its object is to assert the essential barbarism of the Turkish character, and the hopelessness of sustaining a stationary and effete despotism. Its language is, of course, coloured by strong excitement, and its conclusions may seem to have been now contradicted by the many efforts which the

Ottoman government has made towards national improvement; but the unfortunate fact that these efforts have been, to a great extent, enforced and sustained from pressure from without, against the feelings of the main body of the Turkish people, must still shake confidence in their stability, and their value as real indications of civilization. It is at any rate certain that the establishment of the "independent Greek Empire," which Mr. Hughes hopes for, is the object of the wishes, if not the hopes, of many farsighted politicians of our own day, as the only trustworthy solution of the difficulties of the "Eastern Question." But, whatever may be thought of its conclusions, the pamphlet is rendered painfully interesting by the details of personal experience which it records, and is eminently characteristic of its author, in its ardent love of right, and hatred of oppression.

In Christmas 1822, he was appointed Christian Advocate, and held that office for the usual period of six years.* The errors which it called on him to combat are now of no great moment. There were some scandalous writings of a Mr. Gamaliel Smith, undertaking to prove the imposture of St. Paul's life, and his corruption of the "Religion of Jesus," by that process of minute cavil and "criticism" which was then much in fashion, although now scorned and exposed by a more sweeping infidelity: there were Essays 'on the Eternity of Matter,' and 'against the Divine Institution of the Sabbath,' both occupying the old familiar ground on their respective questions; and there were also some of the many attempts of Unitarians to disprove the Divinity of our Lord by the passages which establish His true humanity. These were the subjects which occupied his pen. There is no want of vigour in his handling of them; but theological controversy, as may be easily imagined, was not his natural ground; and his publications as Christian Advocate, like the writings

* The approbation of the University was shown by his being twice chosen for the post.

which called them forth, will hardly retain any permanent interest.

In 1823 he finally quitted his collegiate life, for in the April of that year he married Miss Forster, the daughter of the Rev. J. Forster, of Great Yarmouth; but, still unwilling to relinquish the society of Cambridge, he fixed his residence as curate at Chesterton (about two miles distant), and, after about two years, he returned to Cambridge itself, and lived there, with but occasional absences, until about a year before his death. His occupations were still chiefly literary, although he not unfrequently had some pastoral charge; which (as usual in Cambridge) was undertaken without any adequate remuneration, except the pleasure arising from the discharge of clerical duty, and more particularly of the offices of charity, to which it naturally gave scope.

His undiminished reputation as a scholar was indicated by his appointment as one of the First Examiners for the New Classical Tripos of 1824. He afterwards performed the same duty in 1826 and 1828, and rejoiced that the University had at last done due justice to his favourite path of study. It had not been done without an amount of opposition difficult even to conceive now, when steps so much more extensive and important have been taken in the same direction.

In 1827 he was collated, by his friend Bishop Marsh, to a prebendal stall in the Cathedral of Peterborough, but this did not withdraw him from Cambridge, except during the two months of annual residence.

In the same year (1827), however, on the vacancy of the head-mastership of Rugby School, he became a candidate. His testimonials, after all due allowance for conventional language, indicate by their extent and the variety of sources from which they were drawn, an extensive reputation, and intimate friendship with the first

[1] The same is to be said of the living of Fiskerton to which he was presented by the Chapter in 1832.

men and scholars of the day. But in any case (as has been before said) it may well have been doubted whether Mr. Hughes could have filled such a position with satisfaction to himself or real benefit to the school; and, if he could have foreseen how much the welfare of all the schools of England, and of the cause of Christian education itself, were to depend on the appointment to that head-mastership, he would hardly have been a competitor against Arnold.

His failure even then was not felt as a subject of any deep regret. His place evidently was at Cambridge, and his work was to be done with the pen. In 1831 he engaged in a more important literary undertaking, the edition of the writings of some of the great Divines of the English Church, in a cheap and popular form, with a biographical memoir of each writer, and a summary, in the form of an analysis, prefixed to each of their works. The collection contained the works of Bishop Hall, Jeremy Taylor, Barrow, and Sherlock, and the task of the editor was one of considerable labour and difficulty, although it was not proposed to perform it with the elaborate research which has distinguished later works of the same kind. The narratives and summaries are vigorously written, and may generally be relied upon; the text does not seem to have differed materially from that of former editions.

His chief work, the Continuation of the History of England, was undertaken in 1834, at the request of the late Mr. A. J. Valpy. It was written, in the first instance, with great rapidity, to meet the requirements of a cheap monthly issue; but Mr. Hughes, naturally unwilling to send forth the fruit of much thought and research in an inaccurate form, gladly availed himself of a subsequent opportunity of publishing it with very considerable corrections throughout, and with a large portion actually rewritten. It is from this latter issue, the preparation of which almost equalled the labour of the first, that the present edition is reprinted.

It would be out of place to enter here into any criticism of the work, which may better speak for itself. It maintains its place as a standard authority; its general fidelity and accuracy have never been questioned; and of its style and spirit its readers may very safely be left to judge.

It may easily be imagined, from Mr. Hughes's character, that the deep historic philosophy of a Hallam, or a Guizot, and the laboriously minute research of many modern historians, could not be expected from him. His qualifications for the task were of a different order, tending rather to a lively, graphic view of events and persons, than to the tracing of the profounder lessons of history, or to the discovery of unknown facts and motives. It might have seemed indeed that his natural warmth and strong political feelings would be a more serious hindrance, as militating against the necessary impartiality of the work. In some instances it may have been so, especially as, although reluctantly, he was induced to bring down the narrative to his own time. But the true remedy against partiality is not to be sought in an absence of enthusiasm and political interest, which holds itself aloof, in a fancied superiority, from the great principles involved in the struggles of a free nation, and is incapable of being really fair to any, because it has no sympathy, and, therefore, no full understanding of either side. This disposition is very successful in discovering the falsehood, which taints all human actions, but it passes unconsciously by the truths which lie deeper still. The only real safeguard against partiality is a love of truth in oneself, and a readiness to believe it in others. It is not to be expected that a man's sympathy in all causes can be equal; he must love what he thinks the right, and hate what seems the wrong; but the spirit of truth, and the charity "which rejoices not in iniquity," will enable him to distinguish between men and principles, and to do justice, even where he must fail to sympathize. This is the impartiality, without which

history cannot be written, and at which Mr. Hughes most certainly aimed.

With the publication of the history his literary life ended. Other projects were entertained, such as an English edition of Strabo in conjunction with Dr. Lee and Mr. Akerman, a compilation of commentaries on the Bible, &c.; but he was not permitted to execute them.

He continued to reside at Cambridge, although he had some offers of good positions elsewhere, until 1846, still enjoying its society, and taking a warm interest both in the university movements, and the political elections of the time; but naturally living now more within the circle of his increasing family. His home attachments were very deep and tender, and he never forgot and never quite recovered the shock of the first loss in that beloved circle by the death of his younger son in 1844.

In May 1846 he was presented to the vicarage of Edgeware, Middlesex, by his old friend Dr. Lee. Having resigned his other living, he at once removed to Edgeware, and entered actively on the duties of a parish priest, which he had so long laid aside. But he was not to execute them long. During the year 1847 he had complained of an undefined feeling of illness, and a loss of his naturally robust health and energy, caused perhaps, or at any rate increased, by some serious pecuniary anxieties. He still, however, pursued his ordinary employments, and seemed to be as usual, although he was not without vague forebodings of some coming change. But, on August 8th, he was seized with sudden and alarming illness, which proved afterwards to be disease of the heart; and after three days of much suffering and partial insensibility he died on the 11th.

It would be out of place here to say how deeply he was grieved for in his family, or how severely his loss was felt by his parishioners, especially in the lower class. It would be needless to add, that one who made and kept so many friendships would be more than usually

regretted by a wider circle. These are matters to be treasured up by the affection of private remembrance, but his public memorial is in his works. By them men must judge of his character, and of the services he has rendered to posterity; and if in them there is anything, either useful or elevating, if they have served to forward the cause of truth, and kindle an enthusiasm for what is good and right, if they have helped men to trace out some few pages of the handwriting of God, in the visible creation, in the nobler field of history, or the sacred precincts of theology itself, then they will not have been written in vain.

CONTENTS

OF

THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.

PRELIMINARY ESSAY . . . . . page 1

CHAPTER I. Page 157.

GEORGE III.—1760.

State of the country at the accession of George III.—Its prosperity due to Mr. Pitt—Aim of the new sovereign, in a change of system which he meditated—His coadjutor, the earl of Bute, unfitted for the purpose—Political problem of the interior cabinet—Characters of the principal members of the cabinet at the death of George II.—Interview of the new king with Mr. Pitt, and with the privy council—His speech to the council—Proclamation of his majesty—Duke of York and Lord Bute sworn members of the privy council—Parliament prorogued—Speculations of the public on the new reign—Address to the king—Bishop of London's letter—Meeting of parliament and king's speech—Parliamentary addresses in return—King's reply, and second address from the house of commons—Supplies voted—Civil list, and new disposition of the revenues of the crown—The king's designs known to Mr. Pitt, and opposed to his policy—Great objects of the continental war—Reasons, and preparatory measures for the removal of Mr. Pitt from administration—Correspondence of lord Bute and Doddington—Subsidy voted to the king of Prussia—His victory at Torgau and its consequences—King's attendance at theatres, house of lords, and chapel royal—His sentiments on Dr. Wilson's sermon, &c.—Political adulation rewarded—Tribe of political writers—State of habits, manners, moral and religious principles, &c.

CHAPTER II. Page 184.

Grant of £300,000 to the Americans—Act relating to insolvent debtors—Lord chancellor appointed—Judges made independent of the crown—Unpopular duty laid on beer—Riots at Hexham—Speaker of the house of commons retires—Parliament prorogued and dissolved—Preparatory measures for an alteration of system—Earl of Bute appointed secretary of state, and other changes—Mr. Pitt continues in office—Military operations;

capture of Belleisle and Dominica—Chastisement inflicted on the Cherokees—Siege and capture of Pondicherry—The great mogul's invasion of Bahar, in conjunction with Mr. Law—Defeated and taken prisoners—Treatment of Mr. Law—M. Lally's treatment in France—Operations of the war in Germany—Frederic's distress—His defence of Silesia—Capture of Schweidnitz by Laudohn, and surrender of Colburg to the Russians, derange his plans—Operations in Westphalia and Hesse—Battle of Kirchdenkern—Subsequent operations, without any important result on either side—Inclination of France and the other allies to peace—Maria Theresa alone repugnant to it, but consents to a general congress at Augsburg—Proposals of a separate treaty between France and England—Negotiations respecting it—Interference of Spain—Policy of France and her allies obstructed by the talent and spirit of Mr. Pitt—Discussion still kept up—Mr. Pitt receives intimation of the family compact—Instructions given to the English ambassador at Madrid—Negotiations on the subject with the court of Spain—Spanish explanations unsatisfactory to Mr. Pitt—He proposes to seize their galleons and declare war—His advice being rejected by the English cabinet, he and lord Temple resign—His interview with the king—Receives the reward of his services—Changes in the ministry—Opposite opinions on Mr. Pitt's conduct—His popularity increases—Address of the city of London to the ex-minister—The king determines to marry—Method taken to procure an eligible consort—Princess Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz chosen—The king's declaration of it to the council—Preparations, &c. to bring the queen over to England—Lands at Harwich—Received at St. James's—Marriage ceremony—Appearance of their majesties in public—Coronation—Civic feast at Guildhall, &c.—Meeting of the new parliament—Speaker chosen—The king's speech—Addresses—Settlement on the queen—Repeal of the compelling clause in the insolvent act—Supplies, &c. for 1762—Debates on them and the German war—New ministry determine to carry on the war with spirit—Lord Halifax meets the Irish parliament—His speech, and addresses in return—Negotiations with Spain respecting her secret treaty with France—Explanation demanded, and refused—Mutual departure of the ambassadors—Memorial of the conde de Fuentes—Answered by lord Egremont—His majesty purchases Buckingham-house, and presents it to the queen—Death of eminent men.

CHAPTER III. Page 225.

Determination of the British cabinet—War declared against Spain—Proceedings in Parliament—Combination of France and Spain against Portugal—Firmness of his Portuguese majesty—Proposals made to him; his reply, and rejection of them—Declaration of war by France and Spain—King of England's message to parliament—Subsidy voted for Portugal—King's speech on the adjournment of parliament—Motives of the duke of Newcastle for retiring from office—His noble conduct at resigning it—Lord Bute succeeds him—Other changes in administration—Duke of

Newcastle forms a political connection with the duke of Cumberland in opposition to ministers—State of the king's sentiments with regard to Prussia—Death of the empress Catharine—Effect of it on the affairs of Prussia—Measures which led to the refusal of the British subsidy to Frederic—His resentment—His operations in Germany—His danger from the change of affairs in Russia, and escape—His success against Austria—Operations on the side of Westphalia between prince Ferdinand and the French generals—Affairs of Portugal, and successful resistance to the Bourbon confederacy—English efforts by sea—Conquest of Martinique and other West Indian islands—St. John's in Newfoundland captured by the French, but retaken—Attempts against the Spanish West Indian commerce—Attack and capture of the Havannah—Capture of Manilla, and of the Santissima Trinidada in the East Indies; also of the Hermione—Failure of an expedition against Buenos Ayres—French and Spaniards incline to peace, and send to open negotiations—Views of the minister and of other parties on this subject—Preliminaries of peace settled between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal—Birth of the prince of Wales—The king's encouragement of literature and the fine arts—Addresses on the birth of the young prince, &c.

CHAPTER IV. Page 250.

Facilities of carrying on negotiations—Terms of the preliminary treaty of peace—Objections urged against them, and the answers to these objections—Feelings of the French people respecting the treaty—Meeting of the English parliament, and the king's speech—Debates on the address to his majesty, which is carried by a great majority in both houses—Effect of the reconciliation between England and France on the German powers—Miserable state to which they are reduced by the war—Negotiations between Austria and Prussia—Peace of Hubertsburg concluded—Relations of the states remain the same as before the war—Balance of power—Relations between England and Prussia—Growing power and influence of the former of these states—Her maritime code—General state of Europe—Political speculations, and increased intellectual activity—Attention paid by the different governments to their internal affairs—State of Prussia and Austria—Of France—Of Portugal—Of Spain—Of Russia—Of England—Her domestic policy, and alteration of system—Difficulties and extensive changes which ensued.

CHAPTER V. Page 265.

Opposition to the minister—Necessity for taxation—Reduction of expenditure—Principle of taxation—Cider tax—General opposition to it—Resignation of lord Bute—Conjectures regarding the cause—Changes in the cabinet—Mr. G. Grenville prime minister—Publication of the North Briton—Character of Wilkes—Use of this demagogue in the altered circumstances of the constitution—Close of the session—King's speech—No. 45 of the North Briton—General warrant issued from the home secretary's

office—Wilkes arrested—Committed to the Tower—Preliminary proceedings against him—Judgment of chief justice Pratt respecting the privilege of parliament—Wilkes discharged from custody—Lord Temple disgraced—Wilkes's violent conduct—Effect on public opinion—Death of lord Egremont—Negotiations with Mr. Pitt to bring him into administration—These fail—Recourse had to the duke of Bedford—Ministerial changes—Birth of the duke of York—Meeting of Parliament—Proceedings against Mr. Wilkes—He is wounded in a duel—Debate on the privilege of parliament—Question carried against the decision of the court of common pleas—Protest in the house of lords—Address to the king—Riot when the order of parliament for burning No. 45 of the North Briton by the common hangman was put into execution—Proceedings of parliament in consequence thereof—Message from his majesty regarding the marriage of his sister—Actions brought by Wilkes against the secretaries and under-secretaries of state—Chief justice Pratt's amended judgment respecting general warrants—Public gratitude displayed towards him—Mr. Wilkes required to attend at the bar of the house—Interposes delay, and finally escapes to France.

CHAPTER VI. Page 281.

Proceedings against Wilkes—Question on the legality of general warrants—Wilkes indicted, found guilty, and outlawed—Harsh proceedings against general Conway and others—Supplies raised—Notion taken up of taxing the American colonies—Manner in which the scheme was introduced—Postponed to the next session of parliament—Sentiments of the Americans on the subject, and measures taken by them to oppose it—These aided by other circumstances—The question considered, as to its right and expediency—War with the Indian tribes of North America—Peace concluded—Conduct of the savages and their prisoners, when the latter were delivered up—Bill for preventing abuses in franking letters—Exhortations in the king's speech—These needed by the state of the country—Voyages of discovery—Prince Frederic appointed bishop of Osnaburg—King of the Romans—Affairs of Poland, and election of Poniatowski to the throne—Affairs of Corsica—Final suppression of the jesuits in France—Death of Madame Pompadour—Injuries and insults offered by the French and Spaniards to the British nation redressed, and peace preserved.

CHAPTER VII. Page 299.

King's speech—Notice of his sister's marriage—Questions in parliament relating to general warrants, and the attorney-general's powers—Discussion respecting the taxation of the American provinces—The Americans deny the principle and right—Opinions out of the house—Bill to purchase the regalities of the isle of Man—Causes in operation to weaken the administration—Distress of commercial men and laborers—Scarcity of pro-

visions—Regency bill—Riots of the silk-weavers—Kind consideration of their majesties—Displeasure of the king against his cabinet—He applies to the duke of Cumberland to form a new administration—Conferences with lord Temple and Mr. Pitt—The attempt fails, and ministers propose the conditions of their continuance in office—These are accepted, but much dissatisfaction prevails on both sides—The king again makes overtures to lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, which fail—Formation of the Rockingham ministry—Its first acts—Death of its patron—Its influence diminished—Opposition in America made to the stamp duty—Acts of the presbyterian faction—Proceedings at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, on the arrival of the stamp act—Reasons for the conduct of the colonists—Proceedings in the assembly of Virginia, and in those of New England - Congress at New York—Its resolutions—Public irritation on the arrival of the stamps, and general proceedings of the colonists—Irritation in some of the West Indian islands—Conduct of the Rockingham ministry blamable—Obituary—Domestic events.

CHAPTER VIII. Page 318.

Gloomy aspect of affairs at the opening of the session of parliament—King's speech—Petitions against the stamp duty—Debates on the address, which turn on American politics—Views of different parties regarding the right and expediency of taxing the colonies—Conference between ministers and Franklin—Opinions of the latter respecting the restoration of harmony between England and America—Repeal of the stamp act preceded by a declaratory bill, upholding the right of the British legislature to tax its colonies—Act of indemnity—Popular measures carried by the ministry regarding foreign trade and redress of domestic grievances—Question of general warrants—Tottering state of the cabinet, and reasons of it—Duke of Grafton resigns office—Sentiments of the Americans on the repeal of the stamp act—Those of Washington—Spirit of dissatisfaction still exhibited in the colonies, particularly those of New England—Disputes of the assembly at Boston with governor Bernard respecting the election of members of council—Compensation to the sufferers in the late riots—Provisions of the mutiny act—Same spirit shown at New York and other places—Intrigues of lord Northington—Negotiations with Mr. Pitt and lord Temple—Quarrel of these two statesmen—Mr. Pitt, after several attempts, forms an administration—Distribution of the cabinet offices—Decline of lord Chatham's popularity and influence—Writings of Burke regarding the present changes—Ineffectual attempt of lord Chatham to establish a grand northern confederacy—Accurate information obtained by the king of Prussia regarding our administration—Alarming scarcity of provisions—Tumults in the country—Measures taken to remedy the evil—Embargo laid on vessels laden with wheat by royal authority—Altercation on this subject in parliament—Dispensing power of the crown vindicated by lords Chatham and Camden—Opposed by lord Mansfield and others—Act of indemnity passed—Signs of the cabinet's breaking

up—Attempts of lord Chatham to support it—His bad state of health—Affairs of the East India proprietors—Interference of parliament in their concerns—Birth of the princess-royal—Marriage of the princess Caroline Matilda—Transactions in different states of Europe.

CHAPTER IX. Page 350.

Affairs of India—Retrospect of them as relating to the deposition of Mir Jaffier Ali Khan—Elevation of his son-in-law Cossim Ali Khan—His conduct—Unjust usurpation of trade by individuals in the company's service—Attempts of president Vansittart to adjust matters with the subahdar—Regulations agreed on—Cossim's determination to throw open the trade if these should fail of success—Mr. Vansittart's agreement disavowed by the council—Injurious steps taken by the company's servants—Retaliation by the subahdar—Conduct of Mr. Ellis at Patna—Death of Mr. Amyatt—Recapture of Patna—Mr. Ellis and other English made prisoners—Cossim deposed, and Mir Jaffier again raised to the musnud—Operations of the war between the company and Cossim—Battle of Geriah—Capture of Monghir—Murder of Mr. Ellis and other English prisoners—Patna taken by major Adams—Cossim takes refuge with Sujah Dowla, nabob of Oude—Alliance between him and the emperor to restore Cassim—Major Carnac takes the command of the army—Operations of the war—Major Munro assumes the command—Battle of Buxar—The emperor deserts the confederacy—Unsuccessful attack on fort Chandageer—Negotiations—Conduct of the company towards Mir Jaffier—His death—His son Najim u Dowla appointed to succeed him—Lord Clive appointed governor in India, with a select committee—His sentiments and conduct on his arrival—Lord Clive's progress up the country, and arrangements made with the subahdar—Military operations after the battle of Buxar—Sujah Dowla throws himself on the generosity of the English—Dewanee granted to the company—Transactions of the select committee respecting the inland trade—Arrangement concerning military expenses—Double pay stopped—Conspiracy of the officers in consequence—Suppressed by the prudence and decision of lord Clive—Treaty of mutual defence between the company and native powers—Najim u Dowla dies—Succeeded by his brother Syeff—Departure of lord Clive from India.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

1. Portrait of Rev. T. S. Hughes—*Autograph—Frontispiece.*
2. ——— George the Third, and *Autograph* 157

PRELIMINARY ESSAY

ON THE

POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE,

AND

ITS CONNEXION WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The balance of power in Europe is a result of that federative union between its different states, which professor Heeren calls the 'States-system.' The relations of this system were produced, as he observes, by the progress of civilization, which necessarily increases the points of contact among neighboring states: still they presuppose certain general objects, in which the common interest was concerned. Of this nature were the Italian wars—the affairs of religion after the reformation—the necessity of opposing the advances of the Turks—the commerce of the colonies, which was constantly increasing in value, and the commercial interests to which it gave rise. To all this there remains to be added, the facility of communication which printing and the establishment of posts afford; whence the christian nations of Europe became, in a manner, morally united into one community, which was only politically divided.[1]

In this confederation, until a few years since, the monarchical principle exerted a predominant influence; scarcely a republic beside that of the united Netherlands having any weight in the system: hence the effects arising from the movements of great popular parties would have been unfelt and unknown, but for the intervention of religious dissensions: hence also the management of public affairs, becoming more and more concen-

[1] Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies, &c., Oxford, 1834, vol. i. p. 9.

trated in the hands of princes and their ministers, led to that cabinet policy which has been so long prevalent in Europe. The principles of this federative system was first disclosed by Lorenzo de' Medici, to sustain the independence of Florence: but though it terminated with him, it sprang up again in Italy, amid the contests of France and Austria for that beautiful country; and its central point was thenceforward fixed in the Germanic empire; which, being important to all, and dangerous to none, was peculiarly fitted to give strength and stability to the growth of such a confederation. One important consequence of this system was the recognised sanctity of legitimate possession—a second was the adoption of a principle called the 'Balance of Power;' i. e. an attention paid by all the states to the preservation of their mutual independence, in preventing any particular nation from rising to such a degree of power as might be inconsistent with the general liberty.

The history of the States-system is divided by professor Heeren into three periods; the first extending from the end of the fifteenth century to the accession of Louis XIV.; i. e. from 1492 to 1661;—the second, from 1661 to the death of Frederic the Great, and the commencement of political changes in Europe in 1786—the third, from this latter period to the present times. The first is styled by him the political-religious period; the second, the mercantile-military; the third, the political-revolutionary and constitutional period; in which he recognises successively, the rise, the establishment, and the dissolution of the 'Balance of Power.' In the first two periods and in the early part of the last, the northern European system, comprising Russia, Sweden, Poland, and Denmark, must be kept separate from that of the south, in which all the other states are included, with the exception of Prussia; for this, after its aggrandisement, formed a connecting link, as it were, between them both.

In the States-system, at its commencement, Spain, France, Austria, the German empire, and England, with the papal and Turkish powers, were the most important members in determining its political relations: of these, Spain, by means of her great American possessions, seemed to have the most brilliant prospects, though France had been enlarged by the acquisition of Bretagne, and strengthened by the policy of Louis XI. The Austrian monarchy was yet in a state of formation; while the German empire had acquired a more perfect organization, by that established order and recognition of rights, which it owed to Maximilian I. The pope appeared in a twofold capacity,

as spiritual head of the church, and as temporal ruler of its states; a power strangely daring in its resistance and opposition to public opinion, though it had scarcely any other foundation on which it could rest: but it knew its own importance in the wants and jealousies of other potentates. The Porte, by the establishment of a regular corps of janissaries, and a formidable navy, was at the summit of its European greatness. Portugal was occupied in foreign discoveries and conquests. Venice was fast sinking into a rich but weak commercial establishment; while in England a variety of causes contributed to exalt monarchical power: the people being weary of those political disorders by which they had been so long harassed, and the nobles being extirpated or impoverished by the civil wars, nothing was left to withstand the cool and crafty ambition of Henry VII., the first monarch who succeeded peaceably to the throne after the long contest between the red and white roses.

Though the English parliament had received its distinguishing features, it was still, and long continued to be, a body almost without a soul; yet its peculiar organization and temperament rendered it more capable of future energy than any other political association. Before the union with Scotland, and while bad government kept Ireland in a state of hostility, England rarely entered into combination with continental states, though the possession of Calais gave her both a claim and a power. In after times indeed, when Elizabeth had fixed the national character on the basis of protestantism, when Cromwell had taught nations to fear and respect her naval force, and when William had fixed her throne on popular rights and privileges, England, enriched by commerce and illustrious by valor, became a central point, on which the balance of power rested—the very key-stone of history; her name being connected with every grand arrangement in which the cause of man was interested.

It has been found convenient, for the sake of clearness and distinction, to separate the general periods of the States-system into smaller divisions: accordingly the first division of the first general period is measured from the end of the 15th century to 1515; being occupied with the attempts of the French kings, Charles VIII. and Louis XII., to increase their power by Italian acquisitions: they were successfully resisted both in the north and in the south; and France retained nothing of her conquests but the claims which led to them. In these contests were displayed chiefly the craft and treachery of Ferdinand of

Spain; the unconcentrated activity of Maximilian; and the blind lust for aggrandisement of Louis XII.; but no grand interest, no great character appeared, as a moving spring in politics; neither did the art of war, nor that of political economy, make much progress: the influence of extended commerce and distant colonization scarcely came into play; for the revenue drawn by Spain from the West Indies was not yet large; and the principles of her colonial government were not developed.

The second division of this period extends from 1515 to 1556; involving those furious contests between Charles V. and Francis I., from which the great principle, called the balance of power, may be said actually to have emerged.

Both these princes became candidates for the imperial throne at the death of Maximilian; and as Charles was successful, the union of the crowns of Austria, Spain, and Germany on one head appeared fraught with danger to European liberty; especially when the victory of Pavia seemed to constitute Charles master also of Italy. He was prevented from becoming arbiter of Europe, not more by the defective organization of his armies, than by the awakened jealousy of England and the Italian states: of this Francis was aware, when, with singular bad faith, he mentally protested against the treaty at Madrid, by which, after renouncing all claims on Italy, Flanders, and Artois, he ceded the duchy of Burgundy to his conqueror. A second contest soon became unavoidable; and a secret treaty was formed between Francis, the pope, Venice, and the duke of Milan; which Henry VIII. of England also was induced by great promises to join. It was during this contest that unhappy Rome fell a prey to the imperial forces under the constable Bourbon; and a secret alliance was formed, under pretext of a commercial treaty, between the French monarch, and sultan Solyman II., the conqueror of Rhodes, and terror of Europe. The result, however, at the peace of Cambray, was an extension of the emperor's power in Italy, confirmed by his reconciliation with the pope, and followed by his coronation at Bologna: an hereditary dukedom was established in Florence, and the constitution of Genoa settled as it long afterwards remained.

The third contest between these two rivals had its origin in the articles of the last treaty. Francis could not endure the loss of Italy, especially of Milan; so he determined on war, though unable to induce Henry VIII. or the German protestants to join him: he succeeded however in contracting

an alliance with pope Clement VII., by the marriage of his second son, the duke of Orleans, with Catherine de' Medici, niece of his holiness:—a union, which, though it effected nothing at the time, owing to the pope's death, became afterwards of great importance. The French alliance with the Ottoman Porte was now openly declared.

Italy, as before, was the chief, though not the only scene of war; for the seizure of Savoy and Piedmont by Francis did not prevent an irruption of the emperor into the southern part of France. The contests, however, neither in Piedmont nor Picardy were decisive; but a common danger, arising from the formidable advance of Solyman into Hungary, hastened the ten years' truce of Nice, which was concluded under the mediation of pope Paul III., though without the consent or knowledge of the sultan: its conditions were, that each power should retain what it possessed, their respective claims being referred to the pope: hence it happened, that the feudal investiture of Milan remained undetermined; and the refusal of it to Francis, as well as the murder of his ambassadors in their passage through that state, determined him to engage in a fourth war, when only four years of the truce had expired.

He succeeded, not only in renewing his alliance with Solyman and the Venetians, but in adding to it Cleves, Denmark, and even Sweden; though these two last-mentioned powers were of little importance on either side. The emperor, in the mean time, persuaded Henry VIII. to join him in a league and a combined assault on France: yet the peace of Crespy was concluded in 1544, without procuring for either party the object of his contention. A period however was soon afterwards put to the rivalry of these monarchs; Charles being occupied with his ambitious schemes in Germany, while Henry and Francis forgot their animosities in the grave; both dying in 1547. Under Henry II. indeed, the son and successor of Francis, hostilities were renewed with the emperor; but these arose entirely from transactions in Germany. The variable policy of Francis, with respect to religion, was succeeded by the inflexible severity of Henry II.; who, during his whole reign, exerted, but in vain, every effort to eradicate from his dominions the doctrines of the reformation. His death was regarded by the protestants of France as a merciful interposition of Divine Providence.

The consequences of the preceding struggles were, 1. a practical application of the balance of power to the system, through the opposition of its two principal states: 2. a closer

connexion among all parts of southern Europe, through the Turkish alliance, the affairs of Hungary, and the participation of England in continental wars: 3. the preservation of her independence to France, by which the projects of Charles so far were frustrated.

But it is time to advert to that great principle of the reformation, which now began to exert an extraordinary influence in the state of European politics, when every other interest which could animate them was languishing; when all the energies attached to national representation, like those of the Spanish cortes, the British parliament, and the states-general of France, began to disappear, or to become unimportant; and when the threads of political power were in the hands of some few potentates, who only abused the trust, by weaving them into a web of wretched intrigue, for the gratification of their own passions. Many causes contributed to render Germany a favorable scene for the commencement of the reformation. In no other land had that flame, derived from the crusades, which awakened mankind from the slumber of the dark ages, been kept more alive; in no other land had the commerce, which those expeditions encouraged, established a larger class of free citizens, on whose prosperity, enlightened views, and liberal spirit, the future fate of nations depended: the old and continued contests between popes and emperors, had disposed many to resist the pretensions of Roman pontiffs, whose frequent success in the prosecution of their claims, by encouraging them to aggravate abuses, had prepared the people to receive impressions unfavorable to their religion: besides, the numbers of independent jurisdictions in the empire afforded protection to preachers of the reformed doctrines, which could not have existed under a government more simply constructed: Germany therefore was the cradle of the reformation; and there it first assumed that political character, which doubled its importance. The intermixture indeed of politics and religion was in this case unavoidable; because the efforts of the reformers were directed, not only against errors of doctrine, but against the usurpations of a hierarchy which had interwoven itself into the constitution and administration of every European state; so that an opposition of religious principles, interesting and influencing all classes, gave to each individual a direct and personal interest in the foreign policy of his country. The summons and appearance of Luther before the diet of Worms in 1521, imparted to his cause the character of a state trial; while his proscription by the emperor, and the

undisguised protection afforded him by several princes of his own and other countries, laid the foundation of future schisms in the empire.

The signal success of the reformation in various parts of Germany, kept alive as it was by the strenuous labors of Luther, and the newly-invented art of printing, produced two events which opened the eyes of European powers more clearly to discern its political tendency: these were, the war of the peasants in Suabia, and the secularisation of Prussia, a territory which had belonged to the Teutonic order from the middle of the 13th century. Here was the loss of a whole country to the popedom, and an example by which other ecclesiastical princes might profit. These circumstances, and that threatening attitude which the battle of Pavia enabled the emperor to assume, led to the first alliances distinguished by a difference of religious faith: several Roman catholic states leagued themselves together at Dessau in 1525; and the most prominent among the reformers effected a union at Torgau in 1526. These combinations did not contemplate aggressive measures; but peace could not have been long preserved, had not the plan of calling a general council held out hope.

The two next diets were important to the protestants: that of Spires, in 1529, against the intolerant decrees of which they entered a protest, gave them a distinguishing name; while that of Augsburg, in 1530, produced their confession of faith, showing that the principles of the two parties were irreconcilable. When Charles concluded the peace of 1529, he thought it necessary, for the support of his authority, to declare himself protector of the ancient and established religion: hence he determined to adopt coercive measures with the protestants, which produced a counter-association for their mutual defence in the league of Smalcald, in 1531. The speedy renewal of foreign war with the Turks again favored the reformers: by a treaty concluded at Nuremburg, and ratified at the diet of Ratisbon in 1532, the emperor granted them liberty of conscience, until a general council should meet. His hands were scarcely free from the Mussulman, when he became engaged in the restoration of duke Ulric of Wirtemburg, the anabaptist war of Munster, and the Tunisian expedition; all which occupied him till his third war with Francis; when it would have been dangerous to attack the protestants, whose alliance was strenuously courted by that prince: the league of Smalcald was therefore enlarged and

renewed for ten years in 1536. The German policy of Charles was founded on his notions of the imperial power; and as these were very vague, his plans necessarily corresponded with them: the league of Smalcald was the first event which gave to his ideas any determinate form: in it he saw an armed opposition, and a rebellion against the sovereignty of the empire; so he determined to crush it.

The protestants, having in vain demanded a general council, earnestly pressed on Charles the necessity of appointing a conference between a select number of divines from each party, to examine the points in dispute: for this purpose a diet was convened at Ratisbon in 1541, notwithstanding the pope's opposition: nothing satisfactory however being settled at this meeting, the emperor persuaded a majority of its members to sanction an edict, declaring a few speculative points on which the divines had agreed, to be decided, and referring all the rest to a general council; or, if that could not be obtained, to a national synod; and, in case of failure there, to a diet of the empire. The protestants being very much dissatisfied with this edict, Charles issued a private declaration, exempting them from whatever they thought injurious or oppressive in it, and confirming to them the possession of their former privileges. These concessions were rendered necessary by the prospect of a rupture with France, and the rapid progress of the Turks in Hungary: hence also he obtained from the protestants liberal supplies of men and money, for his favorite expedition against Algiers. The council of Trent was convoked in 1542, but did not finally open till December, 1545; when by reason of its very form and first decision, the protestants were unable to take any part in it. In the mean time the crafty Charles had concluded the peace of Crespy with his antagonist Francis; which left the protestant associates unprotected, and gave signal for war: this however was directed not so much, according to the pope's desire, against the states which were considered guilty of heresy, as against the leaguers of Smalcald, who impugned the imperial authority. In this enterprise the emperor was flattered by appearances of decisive success; for the disunion and imprudence of the confederates soon brought the whole body to an unqualified submission; the single city of Magdeburg alone continuing to resist the imperial arms. John Frederic, elector of Saxony, having been taken prisoner at the battle of Muhlburg, April 24, 1547, the electorate was bestowed on duke Maurice, his son-in-law; while the death of Francis I., by removing the only rival that could embarrass his

measures, (for Solyman had turned his arms toward Persia) seemed to complete the assurance of Charles's triumph. In the mean time, elated with success, he proceeded to enforce by authority a uniformity of religious opinions; and the confederates were compelled to accept, under an ordinance denominated 'the *interim*,' a restoration of almost all the abuses which had been renounced. The emperor having determined to carry this ordinance into effect, the spirit of the protestants was again roused: Maurice of Saxony, who had joined him, under a selfish policy, though probably with a mistaken reliance on his promises, embraced this critical moment for declaring himself protector of the liberties of Germany; having effected a confederacy with France, which had been projected by the protestants when they leagued together at Smalcald. Unable to resist so powerful a union, or to repeat the artifices by which he had ruined the former, Charles yielded to necessity, and ceded to the protestants, by the treaty of Passau, in 1552, the free and equal exercise of their religion.

This treaty, however, having been concluded by Maurice without the concurrence of his ally Henry II., the war which continued between the French king and the emperor delayed the meeting of a diet for its ratification. This at length assembled at Augsburg, Sept. 21, 1555; and after a discussion of six months, secured to both parties an interval of tranquillity: but as its benefits were confined to those who embraced the confession of Augsburg, such limitation, together with the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*[2] sowed the seeds of future discord.

Soon after these events, Charles, having failed in his favorite object of uniting the two crowns on one head, resigned that of Spain and the Netherlands to his son Philip II., and that of the empire to his brother Ferdinand I.; closing his own career at Valladolid, Sept. 21, 1558. The long reign of this monarch was a most important period for Europe, during which the energies of its principal states, developed and exercised by his restless ambition, were brought within the action of their mutual influences; at the same time a religious separation was effected, generating an opposition of political interests, and, through that opposition, a system of federative relations among the various governments. Moreover, while the influence of

[2] 'The *reservatum ecclesiasticum* respected the question, whether the future freedom of religion should be extended only to the secular orders, or also to the ecclesiastical. The protestants, to a man, were bent on the latter; but the catholics neither would nor could grant it.'—Heeren, vol. i. p. 73.

the German reformation particularly appeared in its dividing the empire into two great parties, the struggles of which were so instrumental to the federative arrangements of European states; the contemporaneous reformation of Geneva served, by its ecclesiastical arrangement, to infuse into those states a spirit of civil independence, when the common welfare required such a reinforcement of liberal principles to oppose the general exaltation of monarchical authority: the whiggism of our own government, and the political advantages derived from its influence, may be traced to this source. The same reformation gave to the new republic of the united Netherlands an ecclesiastical establishment suited to the genius of its government, which has exercised an important agency on the federative system of Europe: it also produced in the adjacent realm of France a religious party, which, though crushed for a time by the powerful monarchy that enclosed it, still survived the disaster, and mainly contributed to a revolution in that country, which, putting an end to an exhausted system of federative relations, gave a beginning to new political combinations. The great result however of the reformation at the time of which we have just been treating, was the increased interest attaching itself to the German empire, which thenceforth became the true point of balance in the European system. At the end of this period, 1558, protestant opinions prevailed throughout Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Hesse, Mecklenburg, Holstein, and some smaller states in the north; within the Palatinate, Baden and Wirtemburg in the south; as well as within most of the important cities of the empire: Geneva, with great part of Switzerland, as already has been observed, admitted the new doctrines without delay: in England the struggle was going on; while in France and the Netherlands, as well as in Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland, the reformation obtained a footing, though not such as to ensure its future success. In the mean time, this very reformation, though it was a decided separation from a corrupt church which had ceased to inculcate genuine Christianity, so reacted on that church itself as to moderate its abuses, and for a time to increase its stability. Not only was the powerful, intelligent, and zealous association of jesuits formed for the advancement of papal dominion; but doctrines, which had been received on tradition alone, and interpreted with some degree of latitude, were, in the council of Trent, sanctioned by formal authority, and defined with scrupulous exactness: ceremonies also, which had been observed only in deference to ancient usage, were then declared

to be essential parts of religious worship. The distinct line, however, thus drawn between the two contending systems, by which they were placed in more direct and permanent opposition, aided the reformation, as well as the political combinations that arose from its struggles.

In the preceding contests political economy made but little progress; neither were the higher branches of military tactics yet studied, though the art of war was improved by the establishment of a regular infantry. With regard to colonies, the Portuguese and Spaniards remained sole masters of the countries beyond the ocean, though deriving little advantage from them beyond a supply of precious metals; and the abundance of these only contributed to strengthen the erroneous opinion, that a nation's wealth depends on the gold and silver which it contains. The forms of government, as well as the religious doctrines of European states, were transferred to their translantic colonies; but one insuperable bar existed against an intire and national union. The white colonists held all that partook of color in complete subjection and degradation: no creole was capable of holding any office under government; and this physical distinction led eventually to the most important results.

The third division of the first period, from 1556 to 1618, is distinguished by the names of Elizabeth and Philip, William of Orange, and Henry IV. of France; names quite sufficient to indicate its character. The reformation became more than ever a leading principle in European policy: how indeed could it be otherwise, when the progress of protestantism was met by the open terrors of the inquisition and by the secret influence of jesuitism, exerted against it in almost every cabinet? Besides, every hope entertained of reconciliation through the council of Trent, vanished at its final dissolution in 1562; when vindictive anathemas were pronounced against all such as should refuse subscription to the peculiar doctrines of the Romish church.

A knowlege of the reformation was, by its intercourse with Germany, early conveyed to Spain, then subject to a common sovereign: but the new doctrines were here met and subdued by unsparing persecution; the most perfect and detestable form of the inquisition existing in this country and Portugal: but the blood of Spanish martyrs, unavailing as it was to the reformation of their country, did not flow in vain; for the cruelty to which their faith was subjected, inspired their fellow-subjects of the Netherlands with such horror of the inquisi-

tion as consolidated their resistance, and established in the United Provinces the reformed religion in connexion with civil liberty.

No country was so well adapted as Spain at this time to excite the commercial energies of Europe. Her possession of the Netherlands, now rising to the highest degree of prosperity, connected her with the trading interests of the whole continent: her vast resources enabled her to equip and support fleets with which she might provoke the exertions of all maritime powers; while her foreign dependencies and rich colonies presented objects of attraction, and splendid rewards, to the enterprise of her enemies.

Philip II., born and educated in Spain, did not entertain that predilection for the Netherlands which his father had cherished: the manners of the people were irksome to his haughty disposition, their privileges offensive to his love of arbitrary sway, and their toleration of the reformed doctrines insupportable to his bigotry. This last consideration determined him to adopt at once the most rigorous measures: he therefore not only republished some severe edicts, which Charles V. had been induced to revoke; but established, for the purpose of enforcing them, a tribunal similar in its nature to the Spanish inquisition. Other measures in conjunction with these served to exasperate popular discontent; and a confederacy, named the Compromise, was formed against the introduction of any inquisitorial tribunal; which was met by Philip with a violence that put an end to every scheme of moderation.

The duke of Alva, who commanded the Spanish armies, was a man fitted beyond all others to goad a dissatisfied people into rebellion, and to bring the first struggles of resistance into the organization of a settled plan. To complete so desirable an object, Providence seems to have raised up a noble champion of liberty in William of Orange, a man eminently qualified for guiding the efforts of his countrymen, by devotion to their cause, by singular dexterity in conciliating their affections, and by great skill in preserving the combination of a confedracy, which, without the pervading influence of his spirit, must soon have been dissolved in its own weakness. Seizing the proper moment for action, after every effort for conciliation had been made in vain, he took up the cause of freedom, and began the war in 1568, with some forces which his brother had levied in the protestant districts of Germany. This dreadful contest continued its devastations for 35 years, not being terminated

until 1607: such was the severity of the discipline by which these new republicans were trained to independence.

To France the present period was for thirty years one of religious and civil wars, threatening to overturn the very throne itself. The due arrangement of a confederative system of policy appears to have required, that the house of Austria should, from contingent causes, acquire a predominance over the power of France. By the lax constitution of the empire alone could the principles of that policy have been propagated throughout Europe; and the maritime superiority, acquired by the Spanish branch from its transatlantic discoveries, drew forth the naval energies of the Dutch and of the English; preparing by these means the machinery of another period. France, encircled as she was by the extensive territories of the house of Austria, and pressed more especially by the power of Spain, was reduced to a temporary inferiority. To Spain indeed, separated from Germany, she might have been a formidable antagonist if religious dissentions had not paralyzed her strength: certainly nothing but the exhaustion which they created could have hindered her from accepting the proffered sovereignty of tne Netherlands, and thus preventing the independence of that republic.

The interior adjustment of the French government required some intervals of repose, in which the attention of its rulers might be withdrawn from external interests, and employed in controlling the domestic struggles of the nation. Such an interval now occurred, at the end of which the magnanimous Henry IV., assisted by a wise and cautious minister, rescued his country from the horrors of anarchy, and raised it to a degree of power which induced him to meditate a political transformation of the whole European state. This project was frustrated by the dagger of an assassin: and France again became the prey of faction, until the vigorous hand of Richelieu grasped the helm: but a hatred of Spain took deep root in the nation, on account of the intrigues of Philip II. during its domestic troubles, We may here advert to an extraordinary adjustment of circumstances, which allowed the temporary prevalence of a protestant interest in such a government as that of France: it is only to be accounted for by the peculiar character of its sovereigns. The wavering conduct of Francis I. permitted the protestants to acquire strength, though merely as a religious sect: the steady severity of Henry II. animated them with a spirit of perseverance in their faith, while his weakness enabled their adversaries the Guises

to assume a preponderating power in the government: the feeble reign of Francis II., transient as it was, afforded an opportunity for that union, effected by the Bourbon princes with the protestants, which converted the latter into a political party: the minority of Charles IX., giving occasion to a more violent conflict of court factions, brought the two religious parties into open hostility, which was at length exasperated by a perfidious and cruel massacre of protestants: the yet remaining operation was effected by the artful management of Henry III., which determined the party of the Guises to seek in a great association named the League, a power independent of the crown, and able to control it. The preparatory acts of the drama were then completed; for the king, having first declared himself chief of the League, was compelled to have recourse, for his own safety, to that connexion with Henry of Navarre, which procured for the French protestants their temporary establishment.[3] The struggle between the two sects, after Henry himself had been obliged to abjure the protestant faith, terminated in the edict of Nantz; which ensured to the reformers their civil and religious liberty, while it rendered to the Roman catholics that superiority which belongs to the religion of the state. The arrangement was evidently only temporary; for a republican confederacy, possessing fortified places, was set up within the monarchy; two different religious principles, connected with different political interests, were at work within the government: it was impossible but that one of these must in time prevail over the other.

That jealous apprehension of Austria, which occupied the heart of Henry to his last moments, was transmittted to his immediate successors. The Austrian house of Hapsburg had been weakened by a separation of the Spanish from the imperial crown; but it acquired new strength from the personal character of its own princes, whose main object was to preserve peace in Germany: though during this time the storm was gathering which was soon to burst forth in a general European war. The jesuits, who had established themselves in the Austrian dominions, were secretly, but busily employed: frequent collisions gave rise to controversies; and, the consequences were, associations on both sides; the Evangelical Union under the Elector palatine, and the Catholic League under the conduct of Bavaria; while the expulsion of Rudolph II. from the Austrian dominions, with the succession

[3] See History Philosophically Considered, by G. Miller, D.D., London, 1832, vol. iii. p. 142.

secured to the bigoted Ferdinand of Stiria, and a closer connexion with the Spanish monarchy, gave rise to melancholy prospects. Happily for western Europe, at this time, the wild spirit of Mahometan conquest fell with Solyman II., who died in 1566, during his campaign in Hungary, to the complete possession of which country Austria arrived by progressive steps: but the position of Transylvania, which insisted on having its own princes, was a source of contention; while a yet greater might have been foreseen from the introduction of the new religion, though liberty of worship was allowed so early as 1606.

One of the most distinguishing features, however, of the foregoing period was the rivalry between Spain and England; the political character, and almost the existence of each power, being interwoven with its religious faith; both also being under rulers who felt an inordinate desire of interfering in the affairs of other nations, as well as ruling despotically over their own. Each country may be said to have acquired at this time its peculiar character as a state: in one, the maintenance of catholicism was made more than ever the basis of politics; the result of which was war with half of Europe, national degradation, and its consequent debility: in the other, protestantism, preserving the hierarchical forms as a support of the throne, and declaring the monarch to be supreme head of the church, became the very basis of the constitution; whence a conviction that church and state must stand or fall together, was deeply impressed on the public mind. Thus Elizabeth became the great antagonist of Philip II.; and the ensuing conflict with Spain calling forth the energies of her kingdom, laid the foundation of its greatness, by directing them to the attainment of maritime superiority.

Politics, during this period, were generally seen under the unfavorable aspect of bigotry, fanaticism, and intolerance; and though some few distinguished individuals rose far above the prejudices of their age, they were ever exposed to the conspiracies of assassins, by which several of them were sacrificed. Political economy began to attract that attention which necessity required; it was promoted in England by Elizabeth and her able ministers; in France by Sully: but the finance system of the Dutch, founded chiefly on indirect taxation, had the greatest influence on foreign states. The art of war, especially that of sieges, was advanced by the talents and experience of Henry IV., prince Maurice, and Alexander of Parma; but nothing like the naval power of England and Holland had yet been seen in Europe. During this period

the fall of the Portuguese dominion in the East Indies was accelerated; while the Dutch raised up their own with proportional rapidity, usurping almost the whole commerce of the east. The English however entered the field against them, and like their rivals perceived the great importance of conducting oriental commerce intirely by sea. Soon after the discovery of a passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, the English merchants made efforts to participate with Portugal in the trade of that country; but private capital was found too limited for a commerce, which, however lucrative, was attended with great risk, and required a considerable force to protect it: hence the original association of those opulent traders, who petitioned Elizabeth to grant them exclusive privileges. That princess, alive to every project for increasing the wealth of her country, sent an embassy to the emperor Akbar at Delhi, soliciting his favor and protection for her subjects trading in his dominions; but without waiting for the result, she granted a charter, December 31, 1600, which invested them with a monopoly of the trade for 15 years, and an unlimited power of purchasing lands; the direction of their affairs being committed to a governor, and committee of twenty-four, empowered to make any laws which should not be at variance with those of the realm; whilst to the crown was reserved a liberty of resuming the grant, on giving two years' notice, should it not prove profitable to the state. The original capital of these "adventurers," as they were then termed, amounted to £72,000, in shares of £50 each. Such was the first charter of a company of British merchants, who, in the course of a few years, by the enterprise and ambition of their agents, the hostile rivalry of other European nations, and the weakness or perfidy of Asiatic princes, found themselves driven into the possession of sovereign power, and called on to act as rulers over the extensive regions of the east.

Notwithstanding considerable success at first, the trade with India depended too much on the good-will and honesty of the natives, as well as on the address of local agents by whom the concerns of the company were managed: destitute of settlements and forts, they had neither accommodation nor security for their property and servants, but were subjected to every species of insult and injury from hostile rivals. Such checks however seem only to have excited their spirit of enterprise; and in 1609 they obtained a second charter, which was made perpetual; subject only to resumption by the crown, after three years' notice, in case of any national detriment resulting from the grant.

Though the British had received permission from the emperor to form settlements and factories on the shores of his realm, their efforts had been hitherto obstructed by the Portuguese, who arrogantly claimed an exclusive right to the whole commerce of the Indian seas. The company's ships were armed to oppose these pretensions: and in 1612, a fleet under captain Best defeated its antagonists in two actions. This success not only raised the reputation of the English, but enabled them to establish a factory at Surat under very propitious circumstances. At their request also, in 1614, James I. sent an embassy to the imperial court, then residing at Ajmere, with a view to place their commerce on a more liberal and secure foundation: all however that sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador, could obtain from the cautious policy of the emperor's son and ministers, influenced as they were by Portuguese intrigues, was a confirmation of former grants, with a right of appointing resident agents at some of the principal cities: but having sailed to Persia, he was much more successful with Shah Abbas, reigning sovereign of that country, who granted to the company all privileges necessary to promote their commerce in the Persian Gulf. Every effort made by the Portuguese to check the progress of the English served only to accelerate the success of the latter, by stimulating them to active and decisive measures: but the contest tended to derange the finances of the company, by involving it in the expenses of military equipments.

During this period the first British settlement was made in North America. Though Henry VII. issued a royal commission to John Cabot for discoveries on that coast, it led to nothing more than a claim of sovereignty over the country which he visited. A considerable time elapsed before the title was effectually asserted; for it was not until the reign of Elizabeth, when the power of England became extended by commerce, and her cupidity excited by the wealth which Spain derived from transatlantic possessions, that Raleigh took possession of the soil; on which he bestowed the appellation of Virginia, in honour of the 'virgin queen.' The hopes of the nation were at first greatly disappointed when no rich mines of gold and silver were discovered; nor was it until subsequent adventurers had surveyed higher latitudes of this great continent, and found a fertile soil, rich pastures, noble rivers and harbors, with magnificent scenes of forest vegetation, that opinions began to change in favor of a land which promised everything to industry and perseverance. The first charter was

granted to British settlers by James I., whose letters patent comprised that extensive region of America, which stretches along the sea-coast from the 34th to the 45th degree of northern latittude. This grant was divided between the London and the Plymouth company; the colonists of the former association being authorised and required to settle south of the 41st degree of latitude, and those of the latter, north of the 38th degree. A few adventurers, drawn together with difficulty by the London company, undertook the settlement of South Virginia, 1607, and in the same year built Jamestown on Chesapeak bay. After a long struggle with the difficulties of their situation, they succeeded in laying the foundation of that rich and powerful state, into which they introduced the cultivation of tobacco, and negro slavery, in 1616. The Plymouth company was more feeble than its rival, and therefore slower in action: the tract of country also allotted to it was more inhospitable in climate, as well as more wild and difficult of cultivation: in addition to which disadvantages, its first settlers were persons possessed of less capital and spirit, but more exposed to outrages: so that North Virginia, or what was afterwards called New England, became the subject of general detraction; and being continually encroached on by the French and Dutch, it would soon have been forsaken by its colonists, had not circumstances occurred in the mother country, which sent out shoals of brave spirits, to seek for civil and religious liberty in the untrodden wilderness of a new world. The government of each colony was by the charter of James vested in a council of thirteen, to reside in the projected settlements, with a board of control in England, consisting likewise of two councils of thirteen; the members of the several councils being nominated by the king, and obliged to act according to his instructions. Certain commercial privileges were granted to the settlers; and every right which they or their descendants could enjoy in their native land, was nominally secured to them after emigration: but all such rights and privileges were virtually annulled by clauses in the charter, which empowered this vain monarch to rule the colonies by his own laws, instructions, and appointments: in fact, the letters patent were soon followed by a code of ordinances for the internal administration of these settlements, drawn up by the royal hand itself, and considered as a pattern of legislative ingenuity. This code, while it confirmed the charter in several particulars, added to it many odious features: so that, after several revi-

sions, the colonists settled under its authority were tempted to establish, without waiting for the royal consent, representative forms of government similar to those of the mother country: hence a quarrel ensued between them and the king; and the company was broken up in 1624. Though these first attempts at foreign colonization were but feeble, as being only private enterprises permitted by government, yet they necessarily led, in connexion with Spanish and Portuguese pretensions, to a maintenance of the freedom of the sea, which England and Holland defended. France also made some settlements, which were important for the future, more than for the present time.

Fourth division of the first period: from 1618 to 1660.—The great and general wars which distinguished this portion of time originated in the closer connexion of interests among European states, in the nearer alliance which took place, on Ferdinand's election to the throne, between Austria and Spain, cemented as it was by the influence of the jesuits; in the policy and influence of cardinal Richelieu, exerted against the house of Hapsburg: and in the effect of these circumstances, which brought the northern powers, particularly Sweden, to take part in the contests of the south.

The celebrated war of thirty years, which made Germany a central point of European politics, is most important for its bearing on the law of nations. Its duration and extent never could have been anticipated: neither was it carried on from beginning to end according to one plan, or with one object; but during its course many extensive wars were joined to it, and swallowed up in its vortex: its great moving principle was the spirit of religious discussion.

The protestant party had spread themselves throughout Bohemia, as well as Austria and Hungary, where Bethlem Gabor, vaivode of Transylvania, seized the throne by their assistance. The first disturbances broke out at Prague in May, 1618, aused by abuses of power in the imperial governor; and the war was begun under Matthias the following year. The Bohemian protestants took up arms under the Count of Thurn; and Ernest of Mansfeld brought them succors from Germany. In August, 1619, the Bohemians chose Frederick V., elector palatine, for their king; who, as head of the protestant union, son-in-law of James I., and ally of Bethlem Gabor, possessed ample resources, had he known how to use them. Ferdinand II., however, being already in alliance with Spain, gained over the league by a

compact with Maximilian of Bavaria, and rendered the union impotent: Spinola, by the aid of Spanish troops from the Netherlands, transferred the seat of war to the palatinate in 1620: Maximilian and Tilly gained a victory on the white Mountain near Prague on the 8th of November, the same year; and in 1621, Frederick was outlawed, the palatinate dismembered, and the electoral dignity transferred to Bavaria. Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick were everywhere defeated by Tilly in 1622, and the following year; after which imperial despotism and spiritual tyranny were predominant throughout Germany: in the mean time, new and bolder projects were formed at Vienna and Madrid, where it was resolved to renew the contest with the united Netherlands. The suppression of protestant doctrines, and the overthrow of German and Dutch liberty, seemed to be inseparable.

In 1625, the circle of lower Saxony, the principal seat of the reformed religion, rising up in arms under Christian IV. of Denmark, as duke of Holstein, involved northern states in the strife: but the elevation of the celebrated Wallenstein to the command of an army raised by himself, was of much more importance, as it affected the course and character of the war, which from this time became in a great degree revolutionary.

In 1626, Mansfeld and Brunswick were defeated by Tilly and Wallenstein, as Christian himself was at Lutter; after which the Danish war was prosecuted by Wallenstein, who recovered the countries on the Baltic as far as Stralsund. In January, 1628, the dukes of Mecklenburg were put under the ban of the empire, and Wallenstein was invested with their territories: he held Pomerania also, and was created admiral of the fleets in the Baltic and the ocean. Peace was at length made with Christian IV. at Lubeck, May 12, 1629; on the condition that he should renounce all right of interference in German affairs as king of Denmark, and should sacrifice his allies. At this time, Ferdinand II., anxious to reduce the electoral princes and bishops to a state like that of Spanish grandees, and alive to the danger of alarming both religious parties at once, resolved to begin with the protestants; accordingly he issued an edict, ordering them to restore all the benefices and church lands which they had enjoyed since the treaty of Passau: but it was easier to issue such an order, than to carry it into execution; and the ambition of Ferdinand soon received effectual checks.

The distinguished success of Wallenstein, and the conduct of that extraordinary chieftain, who from the investiture of Mecklenburg came forward, not as a conqueror only, but as a ruling prince, unveiled his daring plans; and so exasperated even catholic as well as protestant states, that all implored peace and Wallenstein's discharge: hence, at the diet of electors held in Augsburg, the emperor was reduced to the necessity of resigning his general or his allies. Accordingly Wallenstein was dismissed, and Tilly appointed chief of the imperial forces and of the league.

This disgrace of Wallenstein was mainly due to the intrigues of cardinal Richelieu, who wished also to detach the German league from the interest of the emperor; but in this he failed. From the time when he became prime minister of France, he exerted himself in the prosecution of two grand objects: the first of these was to reduce the pride and privileges of the French nobles, for the purpose of consolidating monarchical dominion: the second was to oppose and counteract the power of Austria and Spain; for which purpose he found employment for the former in the Valteline; and for the latter in the war of Mantua, where he supported the pretensions made by the duke of Nevers to the succession. Much more important, however, with regard to the present contest was the influence which he used with Gustavus Adolphus to take a share in it. This celebrated hero landed in Germany, June 24, 1630; and in August, 1631, gained the great battle of Leipsic over Tilly, about three months after that general had involved Madgeburg in all the horrors of destruction. This victory of Gustavus gave a decided superiority to the protestant cause in the empire; and the great advantages which must result to a successful supporter of that cause in Germany were made more evident: the league fell asunder, and he became master of the countries from the Rhine to Bohemia, from the Baltic to Bavaria: but the misfortunes and death of Tilly brought back Wallenstein, whose ambitious plans were equally extensive. The views of each however were soon closed; for Gustavus Adolphus fell in the arms of victory on the field of Lutzen, November 6, 1632; and no long time elapsed before the assassination of Wallenstein took place at Eger, February 25, 1634: but the school of Gustavus produced men able to advance the cause in which he died; for while Oxenstiern supported it in the cabinet, Bernard of Saxe Weimar and Gustavus Horn overran the greater part of Germany with Swedish forces. In 1634 the fortune of war took a different turn;

Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, obtaining the command of the emperor's troops, gained a great battle over the Swedes at Nordlingen, drove them back into Pomerania in 1635, and compelled the Saxons to make a separate peace. Sweden appeared for some time incapable of maintaining her ground in Germany; but, having concluded a subsidy-treaty with France, she again advanced, when Baner and Wrangel gained a great victory at Wittstock, September 24, 1636, and inclined the scale once more in her favor.

The war became much extended and prolonged by the active share taken in it by France; whilst an alliance contracted by Richelieu with the Netherlands, the conquest and partition of which were aimed at by the cardinal, mixed up the German war with that of the Low Countries. The contest in the empire was now principally carried on by France, arming Germans against Germans; but as Bernard of Saxe Weimar, the great pupil of Gustavus, appeared desirous to fight for himself rather than for others, his removal was almost as much coveted by France as by Austria. After a career of victory on the Rhine and the reduction of Alsace, he died in 1639; when France took possession of Alsace and of the army which he left.

Under these circumstances a faint prospect of peace became visible. The alliance between Austria and Spain, which latter state was embarrassed by civil war in Portugal and Catalonia, had been less close since Ferdinand III. had succeeded his father on the imperial throne in 1637: the independence of the new elector Frederic William of Brandenburg, 1640, left less of hope to Austria and Sweden; and at the general diet, which was at length convened, the emperor yielded to what was designated a general amnesty: but though preliminaries were signed at Hamburg, December 25, 1641, the time and place of congress being fixed, the war was continued after Richelieu's death, whom cardinal Mazarin succeeded, through the hope which each party entertained of securing better terms for itself.

Besides, a new contest arose between Sweden and Denmark, which latter state had been gained over to the imperial interest. The Swedish general, Torstenson, was victorious at Holstein and Sleswick, in 1644: and entered Moravia the ensuing year. At length, the congress of peace was opened at Munster and Osnaburg; but negotiations were dragged on for three years, while the Swedes under Wrangel, and the French under the great Turenne, carried all the miseries of war, by

repeated invasions, into the south of Germany, and especially into Bavaria. These successes of his adversaries disposed the emperor to accept terms of accommodation; for which France was more inclined, since the united Netherlands had just concluded a separate peace with Spain, on the basis of their independence, while France itself was threatened with intestine war. In consequence of these favorable occurrences, the memorable peace of Westphalia was signed at Munster, October 24, 1648.

The most important points of this treaty consisted,—1. in an indemnification of foreign powers, as well as single states of the empire: 2. in the internal religious and political relations of the empire itself, and in the relation of some other foreign states to it. The foreign powers indemnified were France and Sweden; the German states were, Brandenburg, Hesse-Cassel, Mecklenburg, and Brunswick-Luneburg. In this indemnification, many ecclesiastical states were secularized, against which act the pope in vain protested. The internal relations of the empire were chiefly confined to points contested or uncertain: with respect to religion, the pacification of Passau was confirmed in its full extent, an equality of privileges being conceded to Lutherans and catholics.

In respect to the political relations of the empire, a general amnesty and restitution was agreed to; but an eighth electorate was created for the palatinate; that which had been taken away from it, together with the upper palatinate, being retained by Bavaria, to whom they were given during the war. To each state of the empire sovereignty within its own territories, and all rights in the diets, were secured; while the united Netherlands and Switzerland were acknowledged to be wholly independent on the German empire.

By this piece also the Germanic body politic obtained its determinate forms: the imperial power was constitutionally restricted within its narrowest limits; and the various potentates being in the fullest sense rulers of their respective states, the welfare of Germany became more attached to the territorial than to the imperial government.

With regard to the political system of Europe, the maintenance of the Germanic constitution acquired a weight in practical politics which could not soon be lost: it seemed indissolubly connected with the balance of power, which consequently became more distinctly acknowledged and confirmed. By the alliance of France and Sweden, which latter country rose to a high rank among constitutional powers, the

north and west of Europe came into closer connexion: this however soon languished for want of some common and permanent interest.

The war between France and Spain continued, because each power expected to gain by its prosecution, especially Spain; for she was disengaged from her contest in the Netherlands, while France was disturbed by domestic dissentions. Her fortune however changed for the worse, especially when Cromwell joined her adversary; and the peace of the Pyrenees in 1659 confirmed the superiority of France, not so much by acquisitions of territory as by prospects which the marriage, concerted between Louis XIV. and the infanta of Spain, opened for the future.

The condition of Spain at the end of the reign of Philip IV. was greatly deteriorated. Philip II. had occasioned the dismemberment of the United Provinces, shaken the external power of his kingdom, and injured the national character, by establishing the inquisition in his realms. Philip III. put a stop to all improvement, and completed the national degradation by his expulsion of the Moors. Philip IV. succumbed to the power of France, and was unable to make head against the struggles of Portugal for independence; while the system of ministerial government introduced by himself and his successor accelerated the downfall of Spain: having fulfilled its important functions in forming the European system, it collapsed into a state of political inanition; still standing indeed on the principle of vitality, as a decayed tree will stand for a long period on its external bark, but leaving other states at liberty to advance without embarrassment.

Austria soon gained influence in Hungary and Bohemia sufficient to compensate for the loss of it in Germany: while the Turkish empire, that curse of Christendom, exhibited symptoms of decline common to all great monarchies in the east. England during this period was almost wholly occupied with domestic commotions; and while its royal dignity was extinguished, that of France became aggrandised, and her national influence over the affairs of Europe extended by the talents of Richelieu and Mazarin.

Both to the forms and to the fundamental maxims of practical policy this period was important. The forms were rendered much more definite by Richelieu, that great founder of cabinet policy; but the web at the same time became more complicated. Never before had Europe seen negotiations of such extent or consequence; and henceforth nothing seemed

too much to be transacted by a congress. With regard to political maxims, the book of Grotius, published in 1625, taught rulers that there existed a law of nations; and the British Revolution under Charles I. caused the question relating to the rights of a king and of his subjects to be thoroughly discussed. The maxims of freedom and equality of rights, promulgated by the independents, though they were not received and acted on by the English, were transferred to North America. The colonies in that country were now making such rapid strides, that their importance was sensibly felt by the nation. The persecution of puritans, civil commotions, and despair of any redress of grievances in England, drove numbers across the Atlantic; while the various states, comprised under the general denominations of Virginia and New England, began to separate, and, as was before observed, received constitutional governments: these, though intended to be dependent on the royal authority, contained within themselves the elements of that republicanism which became afterwards so largely developed. Boston, the capital of Massachusets, was settled, in 1627, by many enthusiastic lovers of civil and religious liberty; and the introduction of a free representative system took place so early as 1634; in which year the state of Rhode Island was founded by emigrants from this settlement. From the same state proceeded the first colonists of Connecticut in 1636; as also those of New Hampshire and Maine in 1637, subject however to the government of Massachusets. In 1643 these provinces united together in a federative union for common defence, under the name of New England: even at the present day the origin of its inhabitants is discernible in their habits, manners, and general disposition.

Pennsylvania was a settlement of quakers, for whom William Penn framed a wise, consistent code of laws; and the prosperity of this colony, together with the mild manners of its inhabitants, rendered it easy to be governed. The provinces around it, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, chiefly consisted of cessions made to the British crown by the Dutch and Swedes. The charter of Maryland was obtained from Charles I. in 1632, for the avowed purpose of providing an asylum for Roman catholics, whom the king relunctantly persecuted. Lord Baltimore was appointed absolute proprietary, saving the allegiance due to the crown, license of settlement being given to all British subjects: they, with their posterity, were entitled to all the rights and liberties of Englishmen, having power to make laws for the province, if

not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England. North and South Carolina were granted by Charles II. to some persons of rank, for whom the celebrated Locke drew up a theory of government, which was not found to succeed in practice: besides, these colonies endured so many evils from the anomalous characters of their first settlers, puritans, cavaliers, and French hugenots, as also from the arbitrary sway of the proprietaries, that while the provinces of New England clung to their charters as the guardians of their rights, the Carolinas sought relief by an appeal to the throne, renouncing the proprietary government and establishing a royal governor; their laws being enacted in a provincial assembly, like those in Virginia; which province soon rose to a very high state of prosperity, chiefly through the introduction of the tobacco-plant.

The American settlements suffered greatly by the revolution in England; especially Maryland and Virginia: the inhabitants of this latter province were the last British subjects that submitted to the arms of Cromwell, and the first colonists who proclaimed Charles II. In 1660 the famous navigation act of 1651 was renewed, embracing the North American colonies; a plain acknowledgment of their value to the mother country. In 1686 James II. determined to overthrow the proprietary governments; but more serious affairs at home prevented the execution of his design.

The French also fixed their views on both Indies, and their colonies began to rise into importance. While their attempts, under Richelieu, to acquire a share of the East Indian trade, were unsuccessful, their plantations on several of the West Indian islands thrived greatly; but still remained private property. The English possessions also in the West Indies consisted of settlements made by individuals on some of the smaller Antilles, and were little valued till the sugar-cane began to thrive in Barbados, where it had been introduced from Brazil. This, and the conquest of Jamaica in 1655, laid the foundation of British commerce in that part of the world. Spain lost the colonies of Portugal when the latter regained her independence; but she retained her own. Portugal lost nearly all her East Indian possessions to the Dutch, but retained her colonial importance by the possession of Brazil. The commerce and manufactures of the Dutch, favored as they were by national liberty, became so florishing as to awaken the jealousy of their neighbors: their East Indian colonies increased to a great extent, and apparently possessed a strong

bulwark in the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope: their extensive carrying-trade, however, received a severe blow from the navigation act of Cromwell.

British commerce in the East was on the verge of ruin, until the Protector in some measure restored it by a renewal of its privileges. In 1616 the company possessed numerous factories both on the continent and in the islands; but from the latter they were driven by the Dutch, after a course of calculating cold-blooded policy, terminating in the abominable massacre of Amboyna; since which time the English have abandoned to their rivals almost all insular commerce in the east. That catastrophe, added to the bad faith of government, and some radical defects in the constitution of the company, the smallness of their capital, their increased expenditure, their want of forts, and a consequent reliance on the precarious protection of native governments, had brought their affairs to the lowest ebb, when accident led to the formation of a settlement in Bengal, which has since proved the source of their vast prosperity. The company were indebted to the professional skill of a physician, named Boughton, for this origin of their extraordinary power: he obtained for them the privilege of settlement from the emperor Shah Jehaun, as well as from the nabob of Bengal; and in 1636 they built a factory at Hoogley, about 100 miles from the mouth of the Ganges. At this place the Dutch and Portuguese also established factories; but during the reign of James II. the British company's servants so irritated the native powers by their imprudent conduct, that they found it necessary to move twenty-five miles down the river, to a village called Chuttaruttee. Having there in 1698 obtained a grant of land from the Mogul, on the condition of an annual rent, they began to construct Fort William; under shelter of which Calcutta, the great city of palaces, and capital of modern India, has gradually arisen. About the same period another station was obtained by purchase, on the coast of the Carnatic; where Fort St. David was built, and made subordinate to the government of Madras. In the troubles of the Revolution, their very existence as a corporation was nearly annihilated; but in 1651 their interests began to revive; and the war brought on between the English and Dutch by the celebrated navigation act, humbled the latter so much, that, in suing for peace, they promised to make satisfaction to our East India company for injuries done to its trade; but this promise was eluded by the forms of a treaty. The commerce of the company now began to be

encumbered by the enterprises of private traders, until Cromwell granted a new charter, on a joint stock capital of £739,782; though half only of that sum was actually subscribed. Their hopes fell with the death and energetic reign of the protector, but unexpectedly revived with the privileges granted by a charter from Charles II. in 1661; which not only confirmed those of Elizabeth and James, but added many new and important rights. They were now allowed to erect forts; to appoint governors, officers, and judges for the trial of civil and criminal causes; to make war and peace with the 'infidels of India;' to raise men in England for their settlements: and to send back any British subjects who were found residing in the country, or sailing in the Indian seas, without their permission. The right of voting was now limited to proprietors of £500 stock.

Political economy made no great progress during the foregoing period: Richelieu and Mazarin merely provided for the necessities of the moment; and even in the united Netherlands, loans were the sole support of war, though the example of that state showed the vast resources which lay in manufactures and foreign commerce. In military art the great Gustavus Adolphus struck out a new line of tactics, by the introduction of quicker motion, making the files less deep, and adopting lighter arms, with an improved artillery.

The beginning of the sixteenth century was an epoch for the north of Europe, as well as for the west. In its five principal states, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Russia, and Prussia, as it then existed, revolutions took place, which either determined, or materially influenced, their future forms of government. These changes were brought about by two important events; the re-establishment of the Swedish throne, at the dissolution of the union of Colmar, 1524; and the reformation, which was so favorably received in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, that its prevalence soon became very general: in the last-mentioned state it formed the basis of its constitution: it affected all the subsequent relations of Prussia, and in a great degree prepared the future fate of Poland. The history of the Gothic or Germanic nations of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, may be comprised in three general periods: the first preceding the dissolution of the union of Colmar; the second, between that event and the treaty of Westphalia; the third, extending from this treaty to our own times. The first exhibits these nations as influencing the southern states only by occasional agency, and maintaining

with them no settled combination of political interests. The second period presents them as entering into a more orderly arrangement; first, as they were permanently distributed into two governments, at the dissolution of the triple union; and next, as these were successively engaged in the German war, attaching themselves as satellites to the great system which the southern governments were beginning to form. In the third period we shall see them separating themselves from the southern states, and constituting a distinct northern system, as influenced by the superior attraction of Russia.

In the early part of the 17th century fierce hostilities were carried on by the Poles and Swedes, in which the balance of success was greatly in favor of the latter. The long and active part which Sweden took in the thirty years' war gave to the north a period of repose; but the jealousy of Sweden entertained by Denmark broke out in repeated wars; the former, however, gained a decided superiority over her rival at the peace of Westphalia. In 1655, war commenced between Sweden and Poland, because John Casimir, king of the latter country, would not renounce his pretensions to the Swedish throne, and acknowledge those of Charles Gustavus. In this contest, the ill success of Poland, which was at the same time engaged in a Russian war, added to the bold schemes of Charles Gustavus, who aimed also at the subjugation of Denmark, and the establishment of a great monarchy in the north, roused the energies of neighbouring states, until nearly half of Europe was occupied in counteracting his ambitious plans. These however were frustrated by his sudden death: after which peace was concluded at Copenhagen, May 27, 1660, under the mediation of France and the maritime powers; also between Sweden and Poland, in the same year, at Oliva, when John Casimir renounced all claims to the throne of Sweden, and resigned to that power the greatest part of Livonia, Esthonia, and the isle of Oesel. The duke of Courland, taken captive by the Swedes, was released and restored to his dominions. In 1661, peace was also concluded between Sweden and Russia, conquests being mutually restored.

In the mean time, the elector Frederick William, under whom the house of Brandenburg rose to great importance, ably availed himself of these contests to break the feudal relations which connected Prussia with Poland. Appearing at first inclined to side with Sweden, he purchased this independence by the treaty of Welau: but when he penetrated into the design of Charles Gustavus to render him a vassal of the

Swedish crown, he soon showed himself active in opposition to his plan of establishing a northern monarchy. The treaty of Oliva confirmed the entire independence of Prussia. To Denmark the storm which had thus arisen occasioned a revolution in its government, by which Frederic III. acquired an hereditary and absolute sovereignty.

Second period of the States-System.—If the general character of the last period derived its tone and color from the interference of religion with politics, that of the present was equally affected by the influence of money; a consequence of advancing civilization, which induced governments to undertake numerous projects of an expensive nature. Men now discovered that a certain relation always exists between the means of government and the prosperity of the nation; therefore they endeavoured to promote the wealth of the latter through trade and manufactures, increasing the value of raw materials by the application of ingenious arts: but as navigation and foreign commerce depend mainly on colonies, these naturally acquired greater importance; and the maritime powers began to obtain a manifest preponderance in the system. Hence, during peace, there was generated a continual distrust and an envy of those states which were supposed to gain by the losses of others: during war attempts were made to annihilate an enemy's commerce, and the system of privateering was put in practice: the contest also extended itself to the colonies, and neutral trade suffered various restrictions and oppressions.

This mercantile character of the age had a peculiar effect on its military system: from the continual dissentions which it produced arose the institution of standing armies, which attained to its height under Louis XIV. and Frederic the Great. This rendered tranquillity in peace more secure, while it mitigated the evils of war: yet nations must grow ripe for subjugation in proportion as they lay aside generally the instruments of defence.

Though frequent attempts were made during this period by single states to acquire a preponderance by destroying the balance of power, yet were they always frustrated; and their failure served only to confirm it. The relations of different countries were drawn closer by the agency of diplomacy, which soon acquired great perfection and authoritative influence: hence the enlarged system of foreign embassies.

First Division of the Second Period: from 1961 to 1700.—This is often called the age of Louis XIV.; in which France

became the great opposing power against Austria, and acquired a predominance in the European states: this she effected, not only by her arms, population, situation, and extent of territory, but by her superior refinement and the domination of her language. The regal power had been advanced greatly by the policy of Richelieu, though the constitution of the kingdom was too complicated to admit of a pure despotism: the rights of the nobility and clergy, the parliaments, and many local privileges, kept it in check, and confined its attacks chiefly to individuals; so that the national spirit was not extinguished.

With regard the internal relations of the other southern nations, each seemed adapted to exalt France by serving as her foil. Spain languished in a passive state of insignificance under Charles II., while England's profligate monarch and his venal ministers became actual pensioners of the crafty Louis. The united Netherlands had weakened their power on land by the vast increase of their marine: Austria was engaged with the Turks, and her emperor in the hands of the jesuits; nor could the Germanic empire conceal its weak points from the penetrating eye of Louis, who soon discovered what might be effected there by policy and force: but in the political system of Europe, as it now existed, there was no room for the ambitious plans which he meditated.

The commercial spirit excited in France by the genius of Colbert, acted no less strongly on Europe, than the spirit of conquest produced by the ambition of Louis, supported as this was by Louvois in the cabinet, and by Turenne in the field. The king's favorite scheme, which had also been that of Richelieu, was the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands; for this would immediately have established the sovereignty of France in Europe. Meanwhile a maritime war broke out between the English and the Dutch, when Louis took up arms to enforce his claims on these countries, founded principally on the *jus devolutionis* by the death of his father-in-law, Philip IV. of Spain: after the peace of Breda, however, a triple alliance was formed at the Hague, between England, Holland, and Sweden, to counteract such an aggression; which being one of the few energetic measures in the disgraceful reign of Charles II., seemed to restore England to her proper station, while it increased the consequence of Holland. The terms of this treaty, however, and of that of Aix la Chapelle, which followed it in 1668, pleased neither France nor Spain: though the pride of Louis was mortified by the stop thus put to his conquests, yet a renunciation of his

unjust pretensions was not required: even twelve conquered fortresses, on the frontiers of the Netherlands, were left in his possession, as if to invite a future attack. Our surprise, indeed, is lessened, though our indignation is strongly excited, when we are told that the English monarch was actuated by no views of general policy; but that his motives were, 1, to gain a little temporary popularity with his own subjects; 2, to ruin de Wit by detaching him from France; and in consequence of his fall, to raise up the family of Orange in the United Provinces.[4] With regard to Sweden the affair was merely a matter of financial speculation: hence it happened that when France determined to take revenge on Holland, and to gain, if possible, an accession of strength by conquest, she found no difficulty in breaking up the triple alliance, and persuading England and Sweden to become her allies.[5]

It was principally owing to the negotiations which preceded the peace of Aix la Chapelle, that the influence of Louis was established in the German empire: none of the inferior states could resist his proposals of neutrality, subsidies, and marriages. Cologne and Munster became allies; Austria and Spain were silenced; the duke of Lorraine, as a friend of the latter power, was expelled the country; and even de Wit himself was deluded. With such care and precaution were measures taken to secure success: yet when the storm of war burst on the republic, it passed over its battlements and left them uninjured. By the destruction of de Wit, Louis himself became instrumental in raising up a hero, who nobly withstood his ambitious projects, as the first prince of Orange had withstood those of Philip II. The career, however, of William III. was more splendid, because he contended not only for the liberty of his own country, but for that of Europe combined with it: he contended also with success both in the cabinet and in the field.

In 1672 Louis made his grand attack on Holland by sea and land. Amsterdam was preserved only by the whole country around it being laid under water; a revolution took

[4] Mémoires de Gourville, tom. ii. Macpherson's History of Britain, vol. i.

[5] A secret alliance was formed between England and France by the cabal ministry, not merely to produce the fall of the republic, but also of the British constitution: and in consideration of subsidies, as usual, an alliance was soon afterwards made with Sweden, April 24, 1672, nominally only for protection. Sir William Temple, having been deceived by the king, retired into private life.—Heeren, vol. i. p. 218.

place at the Hague; de Wit and his brother fell victims to popular fury; and William III. was made hereditary stadtholder. All other states were filled with consternation at the imminent danger of the republic; England made a separate peace with her; she found allies in Austria, Spain, Germany, and Brandenburg; while France could not, without great trouble, induce Sweden to engage so far in the contest as to find employment for Brandenburg and the Empire. The Spanish Netherlands and the country of the Upper Rhine subsequently became the principal scenes of combat; on the former of which Condé, and on the latter Turenne, displayed great military talents. The republic, that important member in the European system, was saved as soon as the war was removed from its boundaries; but unoffending countries had to suffer in a foreign cause, and its weaker allies had the cost of making satisfaction to France, whose arms were generally victorious.

After fruitless attempts to bring about a peace at Cologne, Nimeguen was selected as a place for a general congress: negotiations however went on slowly; England resumed an imposing attitude; but her exertions were paralysed through the infamous conduct of Charles, who was bribed by Louis with £300,000. The French monarch also contrived to make a separate peace with the republic, Aug. 10, 1678, by which the old commercial relations between the two countries were restored. In September Louis concluded a treaty with Spain, retaining Franche Comté, with twelve fortresses on the frontiers of the Netherlands: and in February, 1679, he made peace with the emperor, keeping possession of Freyburg. Thus France held a successful contest with the better half of Europe; showing herself as great in the cabinet as in the field, and acquiring possessions which laid the Netherlands at all times open to her attacks.

Louis, instead of setting bounds to his ambition, employed the leisure which this peace afforded him, in perfecting his plans of absolute sovereignity, keeping up a large army, and raising his marine to 100 ships of the line and 60,000 seamen. Many acts of violence and aggression were perpetrated by France on all sides; but by the unwearied exertions of the prince of Orange, a defensive alliance was formed to preserve the peace of Nimeguen; and a truce of twenty years was finally settled: but the elements of strife had been for some time gathering, and it was not possible long to defer the explosion. Besides, the greatness of Louis began to show

symptoms of decline: the death of Colbert in 1683 relaxed the sinews of his power; his revocation of the edict of Nantz deprived his country of its most ingenious and industrious artizans, while it involved him in difficulties with the protestant powers, who were become unaccustomed to such scenes: his insolent treatment of the pope was the last insult offered by him to the dignity of sovereigns which was suffered to pass with impunity.

An ambitious attempt made by Louis to obtain the electorate of Cologne for the cardinal de Furstemburg, one of his own creatures, in opposition to the emperor, showed the necessity of a new league, while it rekindled war in Germany and the Low Countries. The empire, Spain, and Holland were principals in this association at Augsburg; Denmark, Sweden, and Savoy afterwards joined it; so that the accession of England alone seemed requisite to make it complete, when an event occurred, which in itself would have rendered war inevitable. The English Revolution raised William III. to the throne of his father-in-law; and the reception given to James II. by the French monarch was virtually a declaration of hostilities. In the course of three months so widely were the flames of war extended, that there was scarcely a neutral state in Europe; nay, they reached even to the East and West Indies; so that it seemed impossible but that the contest now begun must end either in the subjection or in the pre-eminence of France: neither, however, occurred: the superiority of the French generals, trained in the school of Turenne, still remained; though the exhaustion of the revenue became apparent, since Colbert had not formed a financial school: on the other hand, the persevering wisdom and unshaken courage of William enabled him, not only to pacify the disturbances of England, but to place her in the proud position of chief arbitress of Europe.

The aim of France was to separate the members of the grand confederacy: this she effected by gaining over the duke of Savoy, who procured the neutrality of Spain and Austria in Italy: hence distrust among the allies on one side, and on the other a desire of Louis to complete his projects regarding the Spanish throne, brought about the celebrated treaty of Ryswick, under the mediation of Charles XI. of Sweden. The concessions made by France were considerable; but the pretensions of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish succession were left in full force, though one great object of the war had been to procure a renunciation of them, according to the treaty of the

Pyrenees. It was stipulated that Louis should acknowlege William as the legitimate sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, conquests being mutually restored. All acquisitions and annexations in Catalonia and in the Low Countries, except a few villages necessary to adjust boundaries, were restored to Spain. Freyburg, Brisac, and Philipsburg were given up to the emperor; France retaining the annexations in Alsace, together with Strasburg. The duchies of Lorrain and Bar returned to their native prince; and thus the principal object of the alliance, the freedom and independence of the states, was maintained.

The wars undertaken for this end, which terminated in three such treaties of peace, placed the importance of the balance of power in so strong a light, that there was no danger of its speedy abandonment. Soon after the signature of this treaty, the army of the emperor, under prince Eugene, gained a great victory over the Turks, with whom Louis had entered into negotiations, secretly encouraging them to war against the christian powers. By the treaty of Carlowitz, January 26, 1699, these barbarians were obliged to cede all Hungary on this side the Drave, with Transylvania and Sclavonia to Austria; Asoph, on the Palus Mæotis, to the aspiring young sovereign of Russia, Peter I.; Podolia to the Poles; and the Morea, with several places in Dalmatia to Venice. After this, the Ottoman power was no longer formidable to Europe.

In Spain the germs of decay were so fully developed, that it would be difficult to account for the continuance of its political existence, did we not know how much vitality there is in a great established monarchy.

French influence increased in a greater degree than French power: even the expulsion of the hugenots contributed to this by a diffusion of the language and manners of France. Jansenism, as opposed to jesuitism, and therefore allied to freedom of thought and inquiry, began gradually to acquire a political character, and to become a vehicle of opposition to the government.

In the united Netherlands, William had formed a political, rather than a military school; and his maxims of policy, which were 'opposition to France,' and 'union with England,' continued in operation long after his death.

With respect to the Germanic empire, changes were introduced among its princes by the influence of the French court. Louis found his interest in treating them as petty powers; by which means individuals began to acquire increased importance,

and through them the whole, though in a less degree. An elector of Brandenburg was able to throw a very considerable weight into the scale of European politics; and the creation of a new electorate for Hanover was an occurrence of general interest.

Austria by her religious persecutions raised violent disturbances in Hungary; but an advantage was derived from them in the union of that country with Transylvania, and the erection of it into an hereditary monarchy. Hence all danger from the Turks on this side was greatly diminished.

But no kingdom experienced such important changes as England; changes which determined not only its internal constitution, but its future character as a leading state in the European system, and the powerful opponent of France. The supremacy of the protestant religion, and constitutional liberty, were the results of that Revolution which placed William on the British throne; and both were formally ratified by the bill of rights. The evident advantages of this constitution consisted in the increased practical authority of parliament, especially of the houses of commons, and the unrestrained intercourse of the sovereign with that branch of the legislature by means of his ministers, whose weight and responsibility were thus increased, while the maintenance of a parliamentary majority was the basis of their efficiency. Unity among themselves was also requisite; and provision was made for this by the manner of forming and arranging the cabinet. No nation, as then constituted, could possess within itself so much political spirit as England: her own freedom rendered her the great agent of independence in the European system; and the protection of this independence was not vested, as during the Austrian ascendency, in an arbitrary government, inconsistently crushing at home that liberty which it supported abroad; but in a nation of freemen, making common cause with the friends of rational independence throughout the world. Henceforward the British constitutional monarchy was held forth to admiration as a model of good government; but even this constitution, as a very sagacious observer remarks,[6] 'unavoidably contained within itself the seeds of corruption. These lay in the imperfect state of representation: yet not so much in that alone as in the subsequent abuses of the elective franchise, by which ministers endeavored to secure a majority in parliament. Foreign powers had ample cause to use circumspection in their relations with England; for a change of ministers implied a

[6] Heeren, vol. i. p. 239.

change of political maxims, and the successors deemed themselves but slightly bound by the engagments of their predecessors.'

The adjustment of the continental policy of England, as before observed, was founded on a rivalship with France, originating in commercial jealousy, and permanently fixed by the sagacity of William III. 'His knowlege of foreign politics,' says Burke, 'his keen insight into the ambition of France, his powerful foresight of the consequences that must inevitably follow French victory, to the liberties of all nations; and even his sudden and singular possession of the secrets of national prosperity in a kingdom so new to him as England, constituted the king not merely the first man in rank, but the first in council; not merely the head of the government, but the government. On the head of that individual might have rested the whole question, whether within those twenty years there was to be an independent state in Europe: whether Europe was to be more than an immense dungeon, and France the holder of the chain.' Too weak to resist France by land, England attached herself to the house of Hapsburg, now the second continental power: her closer connexion with the united Netherlands was a consequence of William's accession to her throne: the fortunate circumstance of his being a native of Holland, gave him decisive influence in a country where a defection from his system would have hazarded the fate of Europe: under that influence Holland rejected every allurement and resisted every menace; with destruction at her very gates, she nobly refused to make a separate treaty, or detach her interests from those of England; and William, before he died, had the satisfaction of seeing that consolidation of common interests and common sentiments, which saved Europe from the detestable ambition of Louis XIV.

With regard to general politics during the foregoing period, a different spirit began to show itself. Religion, though it did not lose its effect on the internal affairs of individual states, ceased to determine the mutual relations of foreign nations, and to be a mainspring of general policy. The commercial and monied interest took its place, and soon disclosed its power over government and people, in envy, altercation, and public feuds; the forms of civil administration were more strictly defined: and the example, set by France, of dividing a ministry into different departments, was more or less followed by other states. Political economy made considerable advances, connected as it was with the spirit of the times,

which sought to increase the wealth of governments by the wealth of nations, and saw the quickest road to this through colonies and commerce. Here also Colbert led the way, and merited the praise of being not only a reformer, like Sully, but also a creator; partly by the relation in which he placed an increased and varied national activity to the finances; and partly by his plan of loans founded on safe credit. His fabric fell with him, because it had no support in the constitution; but a different fate attended the British financial system, which arose afterwards: this consisted in funding the interest of loans, without any obligation to pay the capital, which was made transferable. No one, at its origin, could have had any notion of the extent to which it was capable of being carried; but it found support in the guarantee of parliament, and gradual extension in the national wealth, which for a long time had been greatly on the increase.[7]

The affairs of war also, during this period, assumed a different aspect; since France, even in peace, kept up large armies well trained and provided. Other powers imitated her example, especially Austria, on account of Hungary. England and Holland followed more slowly, the one country being kept back by her parliament, and the other by her States-General, through fear for national liberty: a reform of the military art necessarily proceeded from such an arrangement.[8] In an equal degree with the land forces, did the marine also increase, by means of the mercantile system now adopted. At no period was the navy of France so powerful: her acquisition of a maritime dominion over all other states was only prevented by her defeat at la Hogue, and the subsequent coalition formed against her by England and Holland: the

[7] The funding system had its origin in England in the establishment of the Bank in 1694, when it lent its capital to the government at a lower rate of interest than was ever done before, in consequence of the existing war. The extension of this system of loans was possible, therefore, only in case of the continual increase of the national wealth of Britain. It is true, indeed, that no right at home or abroad was thus violated; but even what is good may be abused. Heeren, vol. i. p. 246.

[8] If the new art of war was carried to perfection by Turenne and others, the authors and improvers of the new military system in general were Le Tellier, and his son and successor, Louvois. Instead of the 14,000 men under Henry IV., Louis XIV. maintained, since the peace of Nimeguen, 140,000. What changes in the whole condition of society does the mere possibility of effecting such a measure imply!—Heeren, vol. i. p. 247.

political influence of the maritime powers now became firmly established.

During this period the French government first began to think seriously of planting colonies: those of England were strongly attached to the mother country by that commercial prosperity which the renewed navigation act contributed to produce; but the colonial dependencies of other nations generally remained in an unaltered state. French settlements had been already planted in the West Indies, but they were the property of individuals; Colbert by purchase transferred them to the government, and for the first time introduced a fixed system of administration. A West Indian company was established in 1664, but abolished ten years after, chiefly on account of the smuggling trade. The cultivation of land in Canada, now augmented by the cession of Acadia, made but small progress; traffic in peltry, and the fisheries of Newfoundland, being more regarded. In the East a rival settlement, above that of the English, had been established on the Hoogly river, at Chandernagore; and Pondicherry, situated about eighty miles south of Madras, had been strongly fortified; while the fertile isles of Mascarenhas and Mauritius in the Indian ocean, had been colonized, and received the names of the Isle de Bourbon and the Isle de France. An East Indian company was also chartered by Colbert; but it gradually decayed, and at the end of this period was near its dissolution. The French mercantile system was in fact at war with itself: foreign commerce was shackled by numberless restrictions; and to support domestic manufactures the importation of Indian commodities was prohibited.

The English colonies enjoyed greater prosperity, because they depended less on the government than on the nation: to them the political and religious contests under Charles II. and his successor were by no means unfavorable. Our settlements in the West Indies began to rise into importance with the possession and culture of Jamacia; and their advancement was promoted by liberal constitutions and free commerce. Still more florishing were the British settlements in North America, through the increase of emigration during the political troubles of the parent country; and the fisheries of Newfoundland, with the peltry trade around Hudson's bay, were become national objects. The East Indian trade at the beginning of this period remained in the hands of the chartered proprietors, who had to contend at a disadvantage with the powerful competition of the Dutch. In the reign of Charles II., however,

they acquired a possession which gave a greater stability to their affairs. That monarch having married the Infanta of Portugal, obtained the island of Bombay as a part of her dowry; but finding the expense of supporting it greater than its revenue, he ceded it to the company in 1669: he afterwards granted to them the island of St. Helena, and in other respects sought to promote their interests, confirming the charter given in 1661, and extending their privileges by an act passed in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.[9] But they were still more indebted to James II., whose influence had previously operated much in their favor with his brother: he not only confirmed their former charter, but authorised them to build fortresses, to levy troops, to determine causes by court-martial, and to coin money, not resembling that of England: but through these privileges he conferred on them a degree of power, which they disgraced by many acts of corruption, violence, and oppression; rulers at home protected their favorites abroad in cruel and oppressive measures; private resentments and selfish views were too often the only guides of conduct; the exclusive privilege which was thought necessary for the prosperity of commerce was turned into an engine of tyranny; and such instances of barbarity occurred as were calculated to excite universal horror. The company had for some time thrown a veil over their affairs: though they had doubled their capital in 1682, they had not taken in more than half the sum at first subscribed; they were making extravagant dividends, to support a show of prosperity, but had incurred a debt of £2,000,000; and they refused to pay their creditors, though they pretended that their affairs were in the most florishing condition; moreover, these deceptions at home were equalled or exceeded by those of their factors abroad: though a new charter had been obtained in 1694, many flagrant abuses were detected by parliament; and the company was terrified by a bill of pains and penalties to confess that the king himself had benefited by their peculation, to the amount of £10,000. This checked all farther inquiry.

[9] In 1669 the company first received from Bantam two canisters, containing 143 lbs. of tea, which was chiefly given away in presents. In 1680 is the first notice of a ship sent by the company to China, the trade of which had been monopolised by the Portuguese, until the Dutch obtained a share through their settlement at Formosa. In 1682 the English were deprived of their settlement at Bantam by the Dutch, when they erected a fort at Bencoolen at an expense of £240,000, and thus prevented the Dutch from monopolising the pepper-trade.

In 1698 a new company outbid the other by offering an advance of £2,000,000 at eight per cent., and thus obtained a charter; but that of the old company was renewed in the ensuing session; when the nation had two rival companies: but these, tired out with contests and struggles, united their stock under the old charter, and assumed a name which they have ever since retained, 'the United East India Company.' It remains only to mention that the condition of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies underwent very little alteration; except that the gold mines in Brazil were discovered about the end of this period. Of the northern states, Denmark alone took her station among the colonial powers; and by the possession of Tranquebar, sought to gain a share, though small, of the East Indian trade.

Thus the colonial system in both hemispheres became in extent and geographical situation more and more complicated. Already the wars of European states were felt by their colonies; but the time was not far distant when contests in the colonies would exert a reaction on the parent countries.

With regard to the northern states-system, its internal relations during the preceding period were replete with elements of disorder. Since Poland had become an elective monarchy, and a unanimity of votes had been required in her diets, how could a peaceable election be expected; the interference of strangers being so easy? Foreign policy in this case went so far as even to attempt the appointment of a successor during the life of the reigning monarch.

Sweden, ruling over provinces which almost surrounded the Baltic, still maintained her superiority; but these possessions demanded her participation in the wars both of eastern and western Europe. In 1680 the regal power became almost absolute; and this in future times gave rise to pernicious consequences.

Prussia, though now a sovereign state, and independent in her foreign policy, as far as was compatible with her duties toward the empire, of which she was a part, remained a province of Brandenburg, because there was the residence of the court: hence she was principally engaged in the contests of the southern system.

The participation of Russia, even in northern affairs, was at first very far from decisive. This vast realm required internal organisation, before it could bring its external influence to bear with effect on the surrounding states; and the difficulties which it experienced were aggravated by the family relations of the

reigning dynasty: but the conquest of Asoph, and the settlement in the Ukraine, showed what was to be expected: besides, Peter the Great was now beginning to instruct his rude subjects in the arts both of peace and war, preparing them for those institutions and conquests which entitled him to the appellation of 'father of his country.' It soon became the policy of Russia to seize every occasion of interference in European wars; careless of the loss of men, which could easily be repaired in her extensive territories; but anxious by those wars to train up her warriors, as well as to form her naval and military establishments.

Denmark, though strengthened by the autocracy which had been introduced into her government, suffered much from a dispute existing between the two lines of the reigning dynasty, the royal and the ducal house of Holstein Gottorp: this gradually affected the relations of all the northern states, and contributed materially to produce the extensive war, in which, during the subsequent period, they were involved.

A continual ferment was kept up in Poland: even the election of the great John Sobieski had but a transient effect for good on that unhappy country, whose internal improvement never entered into the views of a Polish magnate. Toward the end of the period a war broke out between Turkey and Austria; when Poland and Russia cemented a union with the latter, and Sobieski had the glory of saving Vienna, while Russia reaped the principal fruits of the contest.

Second Division of the Second Period, extending from 1700 to 1740.—Three great contests had been already carried on against Louis XIV. for the purpose of maintaining the balance of power: this era opens with a fourth, principally undertaken for the same object; while the northern states were suffering in a conflict, distinct from it, but no less obstinately protracted. In the ensuing disposition of affairs, the mercantile and monied interests lost none of their influence: vast public debts, already incurred, were increased by new wars; and the paper-money system was brought into action to supply temporary resources.

The chief subject which engaged attention in the western cabinets after the treaty of Ryswick, was that of the Spanish succession. Three powerful competitors were ready to assert their claims to the whole monarchy, as soon as the death of Charles II., which was daily expected, should take place: Louis XIV. for the dauphin of France, in right of his mother;

Leopold of Austria for one of his sons, with a similar plea; and the elector of Bavaria for himself. The great interest attached to this important question was the maintenance of the balance of power, now rendered the very basis of European policy: it could not be a matter of indifference, what was to become of Spain, especially of the Spanish Netherlands: nor could an equilibrium be maintained if a union of the Spanish crown with that of Austria or of France should take place: the general interest of Europe therefore required that the elector of Bavaria should succeed: but the other two competitors were obstinate; the elector was too weak to contend with either; and the king of England was at this time so fettered by the jealousy of his own subjects, and a great deficiency of public spirit in the nation, that he was in no condition to assist him: thus circumstanced, William listened to any terms that were likely to preserve the peace of Europe, and consented to the partition treaty. To frustrate this scheme, the king of Spain by his last will constituted the elector of Bavaria his successor; but as that prince died before Charles himself, Louis and William again entered into negotiations, and a second treaty of partition was privately signed between France, England, and Holland: but from his endeavors to secure the repose of southern Europe, the attention of William was called to the north, where two extraordinary personages were rising into notice, Peter I. of Russia, and Charles XII. of Sweden: after this, the demise of the duke of Glocester, the last protestant heir to the English crown, engaged him in preparing the Act of Settlement,[10] which was brought in with certain limitations or provisions for the security of the rights and liberties of the subject, supposed to have been overlooked at the Revolution. At this moment every continental state was thrown into alarm by the death of Charles of Spain, and his will in favor of the house of Bourbon: Louis at first hesitated whether he should accept the will in favor of his grandson, or adhere to the partition treaty: in one case, France would receive a considerable accession of territory, with England and Holland as her allies against the emperor; in the other, she would give a master to her ancient rival, and direct the Spanish councils; but with the prospect of having the emperor, England, and Holland for enemies. The danger was thus foreseen, but vanity prevailed; and the duke of Anjou ascended the Spanish throne, under the name of Philip V.

[10] By which the crown was settled on Sophia, duchess-dowager of Hanover, and her heirs, being protestants.

The emperor felt the more deeply wounded, as he had lost the succession chiefly through the haughty, unconciliating character of his own ambassador at the court of Madrid; while the cabinets of England and Holland complained bitterly of the French king's breach of faith, in not observing the conditions of the partition treaty: for the present however they refrained from open hostilities; though preparations commenced, and alliances were formed on both sides. France gained over to her interests Savoy and Mantua, with the electors of Bavaria and Cologne: availing herself of the earliest opportunity to garrison her fortresses on the boundary of the Spanish Netherlands. Austria found allies in the new king of Prussia, and by degrees in all the states of the empire; while she called on the maritime powers for co-operation; and this was readily granted, when Louis excited their indignation, by acknowleging the son of James II. heir to the British throne, in violation of the treaty of Ryswick. The death of William, which followed in March, 1702, threw a damp for some time over the spirits of the allies; but this was soon removed by the quiet succession of Anne, who adopted her predecessor's system of policy, chiefly through the influence of Marlborough: that great man, though politically connected with the tory party, hastened to join the whigs, when he saw them inclined to promote his views.

In one respect this new alliance against France appeared likely to fail: the maritime powers inclined to the partition treaty, which sanctioned a division of the Spanish dominions; while the house of Austria aimed at the possession of all: it however acquired an extraordinary degree of consistency and animation through the policy and talents of Marlborough, Eugene, and Heinsius; three of the greatest names that any age has known.

In the ensuing conflict, Spain, the chief subject of dispute, played only a secondary part; the grand scene of war lying in the Netherlands, the states of Germany, and Italy. It commenced in this latter country, July 1701, with the invasion of Lombardy by prince Eugene; in the district of the Upper Rhine, with the conquest of Landau, September 10; and next year in the Netherlands, where Marlborough first entered the field: but in 1703 it became general in Germany, by the formal alliance of Bavaria with France, and the invasion of the Tyrol by the elector; in Italy, by the defection of the duke of Savoy from France to the allies; and in Spain, after Portugal had joined the alliance, by the arrival of the archduke

Charles in that country. The campaign of 1704 was the first decisively favorable to German interests, when the great victory of the allies at Blenheim shook the power of Louis to its centre: the contest in Spain assumed the character of a civil war; Charles being supported chiefly in Catalonia, and Philip in Castile: while naval operations threw Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean, into the hands of the English.

Leopold of Austria died in May 1705; but the contest was kept up with equal spirit under his successor Joseph I. The campaign of 1706 put the allies into possession of the Netherlands, after a great victory at Ramillies; and of Lombardy, after the relief of Turin by prince Eugene. The conquest of Naples followed in 1707; and the exertions of the French to reconquer the Netherlands in 1708 were frustrated by the victory at Oudenarde, followed by the capture of Lisle. Such defeats reduced Louis to a state of distress which he had never known before: he has the credit however of having endured his misfortunes better than his adversaries bore their success. In the negotiations which took place at the Hague he appeared willing to resign all that was reasonable, but inflexibly resisted propositions which would have degraded his character. This conduct met with its reward; the pride of the French people was roused: and his subjects, though suffering under the horrors of famine, in addition to all their other miseries, made unexampled efforts to support their king. The war therefore proceeded: a great battle was fought at Malplaquet, September 11, 1709, in which the French Marshals, Villars and Boufflers, acquired almost as much credit in defeat as Marlborough and Eugene in victory. Mons fell in October; Douay and some other places in 1710. In other quarters the prospects of the French were not so gloomy as in Hanover, the Upper Rhine, and Dauphiny; while all the advantages gained by the archduke Charles in Spain were counteracted by the talents of Vendome and Berwick. Under these circumstances, negotiations for peace were renewed by France at Gertruydenburg; when Louis, beside large concessions, promised even to furnish subsidies against the king of Spain: the allies however would have imposed on him the mortifying task of deposing his own grandson: this he rejected with disdain and sorrow.

The great question however was not to be decided by the sword; since an alteration in the political relations of all parties was produced by the fall of the whig ministry in England, which occasioned the removal of Marlborough from his

high command. The tories had long affected to consider this expensive and protracted war as useless; and when, by the death of Joseph, the archduke Charles became head of the house of Austria, it would not have been consistent with whig policy to allow the Spanish crown to be united with those of Hungary, Bohemia, and the empire: negotiations therefore for peace naturally ensued; and as Holland was considered the political centre of affairs, a congress was appointed to meet at Utrecht.

Instead however of a general pacification, the nature of circumstances led to a series of treaties, in which each party put forward its own claims; but neither concerning these, nor the main question of the war, could they agree among themselves: while Austria selfishly persisted in her original demand, England and the other allies were not averse to leaving the Spanish throne in possession of the house of Anjou, its European provinces being excepted, and provision made against a union of the crowns of France and Spain on one head; jealousy also arose between England and Holland, on account of commercial privileges which each desired to reserve for itself; and these circumstances were very advantageous to France.

At length, after some preliminary contracts, the peace of Utrecht was concluded. 1. Between England and France; by an acknowlegement of the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, and the removal of the Pretender from the French territory—by a permanent separation of the French and Spanish crowns—by the dismantling of Dunkirk—by the cession to England of Newfoundland, of Acadia according to its ancient boundaries, of Hudson's-bay and its contiguous countries, and the French portion of St. Christopher—by certain commercial privileges granted to England—and by a recognition of the fundamental principal, that, with the exception of contraband articles, free ships make free goods.

2. Between France and the United Netherlands; by the establishment of a barrier on the frontiers against the former power, and by a restoration to France of the strong place of Lisle, and other fortresses which she had lost: at the same time, a treaty of commerce, advantageous to the republic, was effected.

3. Between France and Savoy; by the settlement of boundaries favorable to the latter, to which the kingdom of Sicily was also annexed; while its sovereign was allowed to reserve his claim on Spain, in case the house of Anjou should become extinct.

4. Between France and Portugal; which latter country obtained a settlement of boundaries to its territories in South America.

5. Between France and Prussia; France recognizing the legal title of Prussia, and relinquishing to that state the upper quarter of Guelderland, &c.

Peace was concluded at Utrecht between Spain and Savoy, by the cession of Sicily to the latter, &c.: also between Spain and England, when the former relinquished to the British crown Gibraltar with Minorca, granting also to England the base privilege of the assiento treaty for importation of slaves into the Spanish colonies, which France had before enjoyed.

The emperor was thus left to make a distinct peace with Louis; and as the war which continued between them was attended with little success to the imperial arms, negotiations were set on foot at Rastadt, which led to a peace between Austria and France in March, 1714; and again at Baden, in the same year, when the empire was included. Its principal conditions were, that Austria should take possession of the Spanish Netherlands, after settling a barrier for Holland—that she should retain her possessions in Italy—and that the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who had been put under the ban of the empire, should be restored. With regard to the empire itself, affairs were brought back to the state in which they existed before the war.

But although the sword was sheathed, the contest was not decided: between the two leading competitors, Spain and Austria, no formal peace subsisted, because neither would resign its pretensions: hence the fluctuating state of the system for the ten following years; while the maintenance of the peace of Utrecht became one of the most difficult problems in European policy.

The consequences of this great conflict and of its pacificatory treaties were various and important. An end was put to that ancient rivalry between France and Spain, by which Europe had suffered so much: but all dread of their union soon ceased, when the exhausted state of France became visible, and the discovery was made that ties of consanguinity are of little avail against the machinations of an ambitious policy. The separation of Spanish provinces, by which the Netherlands became annexed to Austria, was an event of great consequence: as these were always ready and immediate objects of French conquest, their protection became the common interest of all, and the chief means of preserving a balance of power.

But the most important result which proceeded from the foregoing contest was the increased influence of Great Britain, the only state in Europe where constitutional liberty now florished, secure from the attack of monarchs whose power was based on the strength of standing armies. Her loan system enabled her to give an unparalleled extension to subsidiary treaties, and thus to exert a proportionate influence on continental politics; the acquisition of the Netherlands by Austria seemed to rivet her connexion with that powerful state: the republic of Holland was devoted to her government: the aid of Savoy and the single German states was always to be obtained by subsidies, whilst her rivalry with France formed one of the chief materials, and the very cement of her preponderating influence. The peace of Utrecht having been concluded under the direction of England, its maintenance appeared to be her natural policy; and this for a considerable time threw the control of European affairs into her hands: nor can it be denied that the political system of Europe has been greatly and beneficially modified by containing within itself an *insular state*, which by its extent and natural resources, its hardy people, and admirable constitution, can maintain so high a rank among leading powers. The barriers interposed between such a state and the rest of the world are sure to produce a feeling of independence among its inhabitants, as exemplary to others as it is useful to themselves; while its existence gives the best possible security to the political system of which it is a member, against the occurrence of any revolution capable of overthrowing the whole structure. In every system of states the pre-eminence of one over the rest is always to be feared when the preponderance depends upon the military power of land forces, for the operation of which a favorable opportunity is sure to occur, in the resources of some prominent state, or in the talent of its leaders, or in both conjoined. The rise, therefore, of a great naval power, which in the political balance may prevent any single interest from acquiring an undue preponderance, is of itself highly beneficial to the whole; and the more so because the very nature of such a power prevents it from becoming dangerous to the independence of the rest.

The war did not assume much of a maritime character; yet in the ensuing peace the mercantile system began to display its influence: grants of very important commercial privileges were made as conditions of peace to the maritime powers; and even territorial concessions were arranged to suit the interests of commerce. The foundation of the commercial preponderance

of England was laid by the peace of Utrecht, and thus the seeds of two mighty wars were sown; but these consequences became gradually developed, and the republic for a time retained its superiority. A great source of internal quiet, as well as of external power, was laid open to England, in the reign of Anne, by the union with Scotland;—an event which put an end to desolating wars between the two countries, detached Scotland from all connexion with France, averted the impending evils of a controverted succession or a separation of the two crowns, and removed all fears for the protestant religion and civil liberty. Scotland and England could now impart to each other their respective advantages; and each became a gainer by the exchange. Happy would it have been for Britain if an equally firm union could have been effected with Ireland; for that unfortunate country, rescued from the barbarous rule of its native chiefs only to become the spoil of its conquerors, was destined to experience a long course of misgovernment, agitation, and violence before such a consummation could take place: indeed it cannot be said that such a consummation has taken place to this day; for so many promises made previously to the Irish union were broken, and so many expectations disappointed after such an event, that agitation soon succeeded to national indignation; and every subsequent concession made to this portion of the empire has been received more like a favour extorted by fear than a boon granted by equity and justice: but a recital of its wrongs, faults, and sufferings in this place would interrupt too much the order of events.

In Spain a new dynasty was seated on the throne; but Philip V. was not fitted by nature to restore a falling state; while his accomplished queen, Elizabeth of Parma, attached more to the interests of her family than to those of the realm, exerted a pernicious influence on the governments of Europe. Portugal, bound to England during the war by motives of policy, became still more closely connected with her by the ties of commerce and conditions of the Methuen treaty.

The greatest change however was experienced by France. Louis XIV. survived the war but a short time, leaving a weak heir and a minor, in his great-grandson; when, in opposition to his will, Philip duke of Orleans, a profligate almost without sense of shame, assumed the regency: between him and the Spanish court a mutual feeling of jealousy and mistrust arose respecting the French succession, in case of the demise of young Louis, whose constitution was remarkably delicate; and this

question was one of great importance in determining the character of foreign connexions.

In England, after the death of Anne, the house of Hanover succeeded that of Stuart: protestantism gave, and preserved to it, the throne: no new maxims of continental policy were entertained; but the system of William III., modified according to circumstances, prevailed: fortunately there existed for many years a Pretender to the throne, who did not permit the better part of the nation, or the government, to lose sight of that system: its natural consequence was the fall, and almost the extinction of a tory ministry, who were more than suspected of conniving at, or encouraging a design of the late queen to set aside the act of succession, in favor of her brother, the Pretender. As the tories were generally inclined to jacobitism, nothing but the zeal of the whigs, and the restoration of their influence, could have supported George I. in the succession.

The Dutch republic, having acquired a high rank among European states, considered it good policy to retire for the future, as much as possible, from continental wars; but thence losing her energies, she declined in the opinion of other powers: her barrier treaty, under the mediation of England, was signed November 15, 1715; and she obtained fortresses, without having soldiers to man them; her commercial prosperity also was sensibly affected by the superiority which that of England began to acquire in Germany, especially on the Weser and the Elbe; this and other advantages, especially the power of sending troops to and from Germany unimpeded, tend to justify the share which George I. took in the affairs of the north; though he would have done better had he acted on more fixed principles.

The Austrian monarchy was aggrandized by the acquisition of Naples, Sardinia, Milan, and the Low Countries: whether these were to be a gain to her or a loss, depended much on the spirit of her own administration: in conjunction with the empire they might serve as bulwarks, or present themselves as so many points to be attacked. The states of the German empire, distracted by the policy of Bavaria, were by this peace reunited, as far as was practicable: but the example had been set; and the times approached when different schisms were to arise.

Two new regal thrones were erected; one for the house of Brandenburg in Prussia, the other for that of Savoy, which soon exchanged Sicily for Sardinia.

The pivot on which European politics now began to turn

was the maintenance of the peace of Utrecht; and to this the diplomacy of cabinets was generally directed, since every other great interest depended on it. England was interested in its preservation, because her florishing commerce was advanced by its conditions, and the protestant succession to her throne confirmed: it was important to France, inasmuch as it involved a renunciation of the French throne by the house of Anjou, to which Philip of Orleans owed the regency: to Austria it secured possession of the conceded provinces; and the Republic could only enjoy her privileges in a time of peace. Such a common interest drew closer the relations between all these powers; even the old spirit of rivalry and hostility between England and France was for a time subdued. In 1716 an alliance was formed by England and Austria, and in 1717 by France and the republic; both for the preservation of this peace.

Spain, however, cherished different views, being not reconciled to the loss of her provinces, while her monarch was under the influence of persons interested in the renewal of the war. Elizabeth of Parma, his second consort, was bent on securing a provision for her sons in her own country, where she had a right of inheritance to the duchies of Parma and Placentia; and the Spanish minister, the crafty Alberoni, entered boldly into her projects: these plans of conquest, directed against Austria, were acted on with greater alacrity, as that power was now engaged in a Turkish war. Enterprises undertaken against Sicily and Sardinia were immediately successful, both islands being speedily reduced; and these eventually procured, by the arrangements of the quadruple alliance concluded in 1718, the reversion of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany for Don Carlos, one of the sons of Elizabeth; resistance was made to the terms of this treaty by Alberoni; while Savoy received, though unwillingly, the Sardinian crown instead of that of Sicily. When the evil intentions of the Spanish minister against England and the regent of France were disclosed, the consequence was a declaration of war by both against Spain; but the Dutch still acted as mediators: peace, however, was out of the question, so long as Alberoni remained in power; and Elizabeth consented to sacrifice him, when a prospect of the French throne was opened to her daughter. The terms of the quadruple alliance were then accepted by Spain.

While England thus took up arms for the maintenance of the peace, she became more and more implicated in continental politics: hence the importance of a British minister who

should be free from that restless activity which is too often mistaken for greatness of mind. The pacific policy of Sir Robert Walpole, though frequently considered inglorious to England, preserved the tranquillity of Europe, without any serious interruptions for almost twenty years.

About this time considerable interest was excited by some proceedings of Austria, which had great influence on future politics. The paternal anxiety of Charles VI., who had only one child, and that a daughter, led him, in 1713, to devise a plan for her succession, under the name of the pragmatic sanction; which, if possible, was to be acknowleged and guaranteed by all the powers of Europe. It was recognised by the hereditary states in 1720, and became thenceforth the ground of many negotiations and concessions. Much more vehement commotions, however, were raised by his project of chartering an East India company at Ostend in 1722: having become possessed of provinces once eminent for commerce, and not having any other eligible communication with the sea, he could not readily submit to relinquish the natural advantages of their situation; forgetting that the existence of their actual condition was the bond, which, in the altered circumstances of Europe, secured the protection of his independence by the maritime powers. This and some other points in dispute brought about the congress of Cambray, under the mediation of France and England; during the negotiations of which a change in a project of marriage caused a greater change in general politics; and by exciting animosity between France and Spain, effected a reconciliation and an alliance between Spain and Austria. The Spanish infanta, who had been fixed upon by the quadruple alliance, as the future consort of Louis XV., and sent to Paris, to be brought up, was now sent back to Spain, because the duke of Bourbon had private reasons for desiring a speedy consummation of the young prince's marriage; which owing to the age of the Spanish princess, could scarcely have been brought about in less than ten years: accordingly Louis was induced to espouse Maria Lezcinsky, daughter of Stanislaus, ex-king of Poland. The queen-mother, exasperated by this indignity, instantly concluded an alliance with the court of Vienna, April 20, 1725: its conditions being a ratification of the peace of Utrecht, a mutual acknowlegement of the order of succession, and a promise of mutual succor in case of attack, by a secret article: Spain also recognized the Ostend company. England and France, annoyed at this treaty, which seemed to augur a union of the Austrian and Spanish crowns by marriage,

and which roused all the political energies of George I. into activity, concluded a counter-alliance at Herenhausen, which Prussia joined: Denmark also and Sweden became engaged in it; as Russia was in that of Vienna. In October, 1726, Prussia retired, and joined the imperial party; while the opposing alliance was strengthened by the accession of Holland, offended on account of the Ostend company; but a wavering and interrupted course of policy was a distinguishing character of this period.

Thus the European states stood ready again to engage in arms: the fitting out of British squadrons directed against Spanish trade, and the attack on Gibraltar by Spain, lighted the train for an explosion; but it was fortunately extinguished by the exertions of cardinal Fleury, the French minister, whose pacific disposition, very similar to that of Walpole, was generally beneficial to Europe. Preliminaries of peace were signed between Austria and the allies at Paris, May 31, 1727: the chief obstacle being removed by a suspension of the Ostend company for seven years. Spain acceded to this reconciliation, June 13th. The death of George I. at this time occasioned no alteration in affairs, because Walpole was not dismissed by his successor; and peace with England was restored by the treaty of the Pardo, March 6, 1728. Some points in dispute were referred for adjustment to a congress to be held at Soissons in June: the restless ambition however of Elizabeth, who, by a treaty with England and France at Seville, had carried her point so far as to obtain admission for Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma, to secure the succession of her son, and dissolved the congress, and even drove offended Austria to arms: but the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction always had a talismanic influence on Charles Thence originated a treaty with England and the republic at Vienna, March 16, 1731; the emperor, in return for that guarantee, acquiescing in the occupation of the Italian states, and the abolition of the Ostend company. Spain acceded to it in June, and the empire in July. Thus peace was still preserved, for the maintenance of which England had engaged herself in such numerous and clashing treaties as required all the dexterity of Walpole to manage; and the ancient moving principle, the rivalry of leading states, seemed to have grown obsolete; but the lust of aggrandisement, that prevailing malady of cabinets, was still alive, and only wanted an opportunity to display itself. This occurred at the death of Frederick Augustus, king of Poland.

Stanislaus Lezcinsky, whom Charles XII. had invested with

the sovereignty of Poland, and Peter the Great had dethroned, was now chosen a second time king, through the influence of his son-in-law Louis XV.: but the emperor, assisted by Russia, having obliged the Poles to institute a new election, the elector of Saxony, who had married the niece of Charles VI., was raised to the throne, and Stanislaus consigned again to a private station. A short war now occasioned great changes in the state of possessions: France entered into alliance with Spain and Sardinia; and French troops, under Berwick and Villars, took all the Austrian possessions in Italy. The emperor sued for peace; and preliminaries were signed at Vienna, October 3, 1735; to which Spain and Sardinia afterwards acceded. The conditions were, that Stanislaus, having renounced all claims on Poland, should enjoy during his life the duchy of Lorrain, which was afterwards to be annexed to France—that Austria should resign to Spain, as a secundo-geniture, the two Sicilies and Elba, in favor of Don Carlos—that Steven, duke of Lorrain, should obtain the reversion of Tuscany, into which he came, July 1737—that the emperor should receive as an indemnification for the two Sicilies, Parma and Placentia; Sardinia obtaining some districts in the Milanese, and France guaranteeing the pragmatic sanction. A definite treaty of peace, however, was not concluded till November 18, 1738. Very important to France was this cession of Lorrain, and equally disadvantageous was the loss of it to the empire. The arrangements begun at Utrecht might now be considered as completed, after an interval of twenty-five years; and here commenced the maturity of the southern and principal combination of federative states, which continued during eighteen years, until the celebrated alliance was formed between France and Austria in the year 1756.

The internal changes which took place within the different states during the last period of forty years, consisted principally in the development of germs previously formed. The share taken in the public contests by Spain, arose from the ambition of her rulers, not from any reviving energies of the declining nation. In France an increasing jealousy of British commerce prepared her people for impending conflicts: at present, however, they found occupation in domestic schisms, occasioned by the bull Unigenitus; but which were not confined to Jansenists and jesuits. In 1716, Law established his bank on the paper system, and the Mississippi company was connected with it. The scheme was reasonable in itself; but was pushed so far by the government, that it failed, and so deranged the

public finances that they never afterwards recovered a settled state. The Austrian monarchy changed its policy and its provinces, without suffering any internal revolution; but a gradual decline took place in the army, the finances, and the whole organization of government. The guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, however, was a compensation to the emperor for every evil. The German empire, attached as it was to Austria, took part in all her contests: but during this period, four of its first princes had acquired foreign crowns;[11] a circumstance, which was not likely to increase its federative stability, since it would scarcely be possible, in all cases, to separate their regal from their electoral dignities. In the republic the Orange party continued to exist after the decease of William III.; and the restoration of the hereditary dignity of stadtholder appeared probable, whenever an opportunity should occur: the farther public relations of this house were determined by a closer connexion with Great Britain in 1734, when the prince of Orange espoused Anne, daughter of George II.

But no nation during this period acquired so high a reputation as England. Her power was consolidated by her union with Scotland, and was exerted for the general interests of Europe, and the maintenance of its political system: her path was clearly defined, and faithfully pursued by her new rulers: the pressure, however, of her debt, increased by continual wars, gave rise to some extravagant projects, contemporaneous with those of France; but as the British constitution permitted no despotic measures, public credit remained unimpaired; and the burdens of the state were relieved by a diminution of interest on the debt, first in 1717, and, again in 1727.

General politics now acquired completely the character of cabinet policy: never before had so much diplomacy been practised; and at no time were such high notions entertained of its efficacy. Political economy was principally confined to the mere acquisition of wealth; so that the mercantile system retained its supremacy: the accumulation of paper-money ended in its depreciation; but its action was great on internal trade, by increasing the medium of circulation; and on the condition of society, by raising prices: so that some ideas of its future power in financial operations began to be conceived. Yet the wildest imagination could hardly have figured to itself the gigantic schemes which it has enabled statesmen of the present times to carry on, or the extraordinary scenes to which it has given rise; when even a congress of sovereigns has not

[11] Brandenburg, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse Cassel.

been able to complete its arrangements without the contractors for a loan.

The art of war continued to improve under the many able generals which this era produced: it necessarily continued to advance in proportion as the system of standing armies was perfected, toward which a second step was taken by Prussia, after the example of France.

Foreign colonies, during this period, were not much extended; nor did they experience any great change of masters, with the exception of some cessions made by France to England: hence the greater was their internal increase; and colonial produce met with a sale in Europe that exceeded all expectations: a still greater interest therefore became attached to them; and by more than one state they were regarded as the foundation of political superiority. Mutual jealousy however between European powers increased in proportion to the importance that was attached to colonial dependencies; and at the end of the period a war was breaking out for the first time on account of colonial interests, notwithstanding all the efforts made by Walpole to avert it.

Portugal at this time acquired a higher degree of importance by its valuable gold mines in Brazil, and its discovery of diamond mines in the same country. Denmark improved its position by the establishment of evangelical missions in the East Indies, and the acquisition of some possessions in the West. Sweden chartered an East India company, with a view to the commerce of China. The storms which disturbed the political atmosphere of old Spain did not reach her colonies; but the smuggling trade was promoted by an injudicious imposition of duties: neither did any material change affect the colonial affairs of the Dutch: in the east, where no one attempted to disturb them on the islands, they were still the first commercial nation; but their superiority showed symptoms of an approaching decline, in the effects of age, of a monopolising system, and of the character of their officers and governors. France, placed by Colbert in the number of colonial states, kept her station successfully: there was as yet so much space unoccupied in the east, that collisions were easily avoided; and, if they did occur, her amicable relations with England, since the death of Louis XIV., rendered them of less moment: her West Indian possessions were very prosperous, through the cultivation of sugar, and also of coffee introduced from Surinam, where the Dutch had imported it from Java in 1718. The principal causes however which rendered her colonial prosperity supe-

rior to that of England, were the more industrious habits of her planters, and the greater commercial privileges granted to her islands in the vile slave-traffic with Spanish America. In North America the limits of French territory were contracted by the cession of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland: but France still possessed Canada and Louisiana; and her attempts to connect those provinces by a chain of fortified places brought on a fierce and important war. In the East Indies, Pondicherry still remained her principal station; but the occupation of the isles of France and Bourbon was an important step, highly advantageous to her naval and military operations: her chartered company had some few gleams of prosperity; but being subject to the variable and despotic plans of ministers, it rested on no stable foundation.

But among colonial states England began to take the most elevated station. The privileges of the assiento treaty conceded at the peace of Utrecht, unhappily at this time were but too important in themselves; while the permission of attending the great fair at Porto Bello, though not directly very advantageous, opened the way to a smuggling trade which brought almost all the commerce of Spanish America into English hands. The prosperity of Great Britain in the West Indies was obstructed by the smuggling trade, which her American colonies carried on with the French islands; but this very circumstance occasioned parliamentary measures to be taken, which relieved her commerce from many injudicious restraints, and tended greatly to advance the prosperity of her western islands. Her North American provinces were now rising to vast importance, while their wealth increased by the importation of slaves, and the culture of rice, first introduced into Carolina from Madagascar in 1702. New emigrations, augmented by religious persecution in the south of Germany, gave political existence to the state of Georgia, which was granted to a private association by letters patent from George II. in 1729. It prospered but slowly, because the trade in peltry was preferred to agriculture until 1752, when the proprietors resigned their privileges to government. Like the other colonies, it was allowed to choose its own magistrates, submitting the enactments of its legislature to the approval of the king, and conforming to the commercial restrictions imposed by the British parliament. Nova Scotia, when ceded to England at the peace of Utrecht, was little better than a desert; so also was Newfoundland: but the participation in its codfishery, which this possession secured to England, was

of great importance both to her commerce and her navy: owing however to the rights which were reserved to the French, it became a source of jealousy and contest.

The East Indian trade of Britain underwent considerable alterations; though her actual possessions were limited to Bombay, Madras, Fort William in Bengal, and Bencoolen in Sumatra. The violent and continual disputes between the old and new companies, nourished by the spirit of political parties, had been closed by a coalition in 1702: but a complete union, under one directory, did not take place till 1708: after the death of Aurungzebe had fixed the epoch of decay in the Mogul empire.

Though many proofs of misconduct were manifest in the early transactions of the company, yet was there exhibited a spirit of enterprise and perseverance, unsubdued by difficulties or dangers, whether they arose from the native powers, or from the intrigues of competitors: to this spirit, created and cherished by exclusive privileges, their ultimate success was due: and by it they were stimulated to efforts both in peace and war, which have produced effects honorable to the British name; serviceable to British interests; but more especially advantageous to these fertile provinces themselves, which they have rescued from the capricious tyranny of native rulers, protected from the devastating incursions of predatory chieftains, and subjected to the dominion of equal laws.

During the early part of this period, Jaffier Khan, nabob of Bengal, jealous of the growing prosperity of our settlement at Calcutta, contrived, in defiance of the emperor's grants, to distress the English by every species of vexation and extortion. The company directed the presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, to send a joint embassy to the great mogul, with a petition for redress, recommended by a suitable present. While they were at Delhi, news came from Surat, that the English factory was withdrawn from that place, on account of impositions laid on their trade, and that a powerful British fleet was expected in the Indian seas: these circumstances determined the court to grant all their requests; and mandates to that purpose were addressed to the nabobs of Bengal and Guzerat, and the subahdar of the Deccan, sealed with the emperor's signet. Numerous privileges were now conceded to the company; some of the most considerable being these that follow: their trade at Surat was exempted from duties, and from the visitations or extortions of officers, on payment of a fixed sum; rupees coined at Bombay and Madras were to be received in

payment of the mogul's revenue: a *dustuck*, or passport, from the president of Calcutta was to exempt goods specified in it from the searches of revenue officers; and the company was authorised to purchase thirty-seven towns on both sides of the Hoogley river. This extensive grant, made in 1717, was regarded as the company's commercial charter, so long as they stood in need of protection from native princes. The orders addressed to the nabob of Guzerat and the subahdar of the Deccan were duly respected by those potentates; but Jaffier Khan, foreseeing that the possession of so many towns would enable the British to command the navigation of the river, frustrated the emperor's grant, by menacing the proprietors with his utmost vengeance if they accepted any proposals for a sale.

In 1716 the establishment of an Ostend company threatened to interfere with the prosperity of that in London: but after the discovery that much of its capital, and many even of its ships and goods, were furnished by British subjects, means were taken, both by proclamation and by act of parliament, to check this invasion of privilege. In 1730 great efforts were made by a large association of merchants in London, Bristol, Liverpool, and other places, to induce parliament to supersede the existing company, by granting an exclusive charter to these new projectors: but the company frustrated this project by paying into the exchequer £200,000, and reducing the interest on their old debt of £3,200,000 from five to four per cent. At the death of Aurungzebe, in 1707, the Mogul sovereignty began to decline. After a long and vigorous reign, during which he had crushed the independence both of Mahometan and native dynasties in the great peninsula, he left his throne to the contentions of his children, and his empire to the ambitious enterprises of chieftains and of strangers. The work of ruin, begun by the family of Aurungzebe, was completed, thirty-two years after his decease, by the invasion of Kouli Khan; who, having first usurped the throne of his own sovereign in Persia, carried his arms into India, under the appellation of Nadir Shah, and inflicted by his ravages such terrible wounds on the Mogul empire, that from his time it can scarcely be considered in existence; being rendered wholly incapable of resisting the progress of British power, or even of maintaining the authority of its interior government: the subahdars and nabobs then acquired independent dominion, which they exercised generally with tyrannical caprice;

though they nominally acknowledged the supremacy of the great mogul.

In the northern states-system, during the period above described, relations, wholly new, were formed by new and energetic rulers; but to all their changes and contests Russia and Sweden gave a color and direction. Peter the Great and Charles XII. appeared on the scene as antagonists, with equal energy and inflexibility of purpose; but with this great distinction, that the one marred all his designs by passion, the other effected them by prudence. Peter reformed every branch of government, civil, military, and domestic, in the most extensive region of Europe: Charles inherited a small and well-ordered state, whose power lay in its provinces round the Baltic, not to be defended by 3,000,000 of men, and therefore destined to become the prey of his mighty antagonist. Poland was under the government of Augustus II., elector of Saxony, disliked by the natives on account of his retaining Saxon troops in the country, which was still disturbed by anarchy and religious differences, and totally averse to all such reforms as were introduced into Russia. This latter power had been raised in 1701 to the rank of a kingdom, and recognised as such, first by the emperor, and gradually by the other European states: henceforth her constant policy lay in efforts to place herself on an equality with the other leading powers: her ambitious principle of conquest was not yet developed. Denmark, though overtaken by the storm, suffered least in the constitution and character of its government: the fall of Sweden and the elevation of Russia were beneficial to its interests, since the latter country was more remote from its boundaries.

Such were the internal relations of the northern states, when a contest, which lasted twenty years, and which gave a new form to the whole system, began with the opening of the eighteenth century. The chief causes of this terrible conflict lay in the determination of Peter I. to inclose the coasts of the Baltic within his dominions; in the attempt of Augustus II. to render Livonia subject to Poland; and in the quarrel of Denmark with Frederick IV. of Holstein Gottorp.

A secret league was formed in 1699 between the kings of Denmark and Poland against Sweden; and this was soon joined by Peter: in the following year all disclosed their designs: Denmark immediately against Holstein Gottorp, and the other two against Livonia. Charles XII., unjustly

attacked, soon extorted a peace from Denmark, and then hastened to Livonia; its liberation enabled him to select which of his foes he would first grapple with. Hatred and passion decided his choice: he left the Russian, whose great policy was to gain time for consolidating and organising his strength, in order that he might dethrone Augustus, who had deeply offended him, but who had already sued for peace; a fatal measure both for himself and for Poland, whose downfall it accelerated by the political and religious dissentions which it introduced.

In the mean time Peter advanced his dominion to the Baltic: recovered Ingria and Karelia; and laid the foundation of his new capital on the Neva, May 27, 1703: a stronghold was gained in Livonia, and Narva was conquered, August 20, 1704. After combating his foe with various success, Charles determined to attack him in the very heart of his dominions: but an impracticable country thwarted the projects of this royal madman, as in after-times it destroyed the more stupendous projects of an imperial freebooter. Being obstructed in his march towards the ancient capital of the czars, where alone, like the haughty Napoleon, he declared that he would treat for peace,[12] he was induced by a false ally to attempt a route through the Ukraine, with an army diminished by fatigue, famine, and conflicts. In August 1708 he crossed the Dnieper; his general Lewenhaupt, whom he expected to meet him with succors, was defeated at Liesna in the same month; and Pultawa was invested in May 1709. Peter hastened to its relief, and the great battle which ensued settled the state of the north: Sweden fell from her too great and sudden elevation; while Russia assumed that superiority which she has ever since maintained, and which has enabled her to enter with such remarkable effect into the contests of the south.

The immediate consequence of his defeat at Pultawa was a dissolution of the political relations forcibly established by Charles XII. Denmark no longer considered herself bound by the conditions of the peace of Travendal: Saxony having

[12] The czar, though now in his own territories, was not without apprehension with regard to the issue of the contest: he therefore sent serious proposals of peace to Charles. 'I will treat at Moscow,' said the Swedish monarch. 'My brother Charles,' replied Peter, when informed of this haughty answer, 'always affects to play Alexander; but he will not, I hope, find in me a Darius.'—Russell's Modern Europe, vol. iii. p. 50.

deposed its king, received back Augustus II.; and Peter retained Livonia, which he had in the mean time conquered. Charles sought to restore his desperate fortunes by aid of the Turks, whom, after great efforts, he engaged in a war with the czar: but when Peter, shut up, with his whole army in Moldavia, without hope of extricating himself, was on the point of surrender, he was saved by the talent of a woman and the corruptibility of a grand vizir. The peace of the Pruth finished, by the destruction of Charles's projects, what the defeat of Pultawa had begun. It is unnecessary to follow this monarch in his wild career of marches, battles, sieges, and negotiations, to his death in the trenches before Frederickshall, where he fell in 1718; having exhausted his country and disciplined his enemies.

Sweden then lay at the mercy of her foes; but after a series of treaties dearly purchased with Hanover, Prussia, Denmark, and Poland, under the mediation of Great Britain, she at length concluded a peace with her most dangerous and powerful adversary at Nystadt, September 10, 1721, by the cession of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Karelia, part of Wiburg, and many islands; being allowed to retain Finland; while Peter bound himself not to interfere in her internal affairs. The czar now adopted the imperial title: southern Europe already felt his influence; but as for the north, his navigation of the Baltic with fleets of his own building gave him for ever a superiority over Sweden. The constitution of that country was now invaded by the aristocracy: while Poland presented the melancholy aspect of a nation devastated by foreign war and intestine commotions, as well as by famine, pestilence, and religious discord. Denmark underwent very little change; but the new and important kingdom of Prussia was found to have advanced far internally toward perfection. The fall of Sweden having freed her from a troublesome neighbor, Frederic William I. laid the basis of her power on the principle of economy: by a prudent management of the revenue, he raised and disciplined those magnificent bodies of troops, which his successor employed with such extraordinary effect.

During the reigns of Catherine I. and Peter II., domestic policy chiefly occupied the Russian government; but when Anne, niece of Peter the Great, ascended the throne in 1730, an attempt made to restrict the imperial power occasioned the overthrow of the native nobility; and a cabinet formed principally of foreigners, initiated in the mysteries of general policy, sought splendor and renown in foreign relations. This empress

procured for her favorite Biron the duchy of Courland, which country continued ever after under the influence of Russia; and, what was still more important, at the death of the king of Poland, she fixed Augustus III. on that throne, in defiance of France, who again set up the ex-king Stanislaus Leczinsky: having then determined to attack the Turks, and avenge the disgrace brought on the Russian arms by the peace of Pruth, she found a ready ally in Austria, who was anxious to share in the expected booty. But the hopes of these allies were considerably disappointed: though Asoph was conquered, the Crimea entered, and a regular establishment formed at the mouths of the Dnieper, yet the campaign of 1738 was rendered unsuccessful by plague and famine in the Ukraine; and though Choczim and Moldavia were reduced in 1739, the losses sustained by Austria brought her to the ignominious peace of Belgrade, and opened the way to accommodation with Russia: this power retained Asoph, and gave up her other conquests; but her superiority was made manifest, and the interior organisation of her army was effected.

Third Division of the Second Period, from 1740 to 1786. —As one division in the states-system is commonly called the age of Louis XIV., so this might with equal propriety derive its appellation from Frederic the Great. European civilization now reached a high point, and nations consequently became more assimilated to each other. The circulation of ideas increased with the diffusion of languages, and differences of religious faith began more and more to lose importance among the people as they were considered of less consequence by their rulers: political economy made great advances; so also did military and naval tactics; while commerce rose to an extent and importance unknown before. Nor was this great advance confined to practical affairs; the spirit of the age was devoted to theoretical questions; the ardor of investigation increased with its increasing intelligence; and scarcely anything was thought beyond the reach of human reason. A natural consequence of all this, was an accession of authority to eminent writers, who began to assume a high rank in society, to guide public opinion, and to influence the tone and practice both of foreign and domestic policy.

The northern and the western states of Europe, in this period became much more intimately connected through the intervening link of the Prussian monarchy, which had now assumed its rank among the leading powers: still the north retained its proper interests; and it was rather that Russia

itself became involved in both systems, than that a union of the two took place.

The death of the emperor Charles VI., October 20, 1740, occasioned terrible convulsions among European states, by awakening the ambition and cupidity of their sovereigns. The male line of the house of Hapsburg being now extinct, Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Charles, and wife of Francis, grand duke of Tuscany, laid claim to the Austrian hereditary dominions, by the right not only of blood, but of that pragmatic sanction which had been so often guaranteed.[13] In the same year, Frederic II., commonly, and not unjustly called "the great," if undaunted courage, military talent, and political knowlege merit that title, ascended the throne of Prussia, having one fixed object in view, of which he never lost sight; —the aggrandisement of his country, whose physical power was not equal to the rank it held: accordingly, he took this opportunity of reviving an antiquated claim to the fertile province of Silesia, contiguous to his own territories; and marched at the head of 30,000 well-disciplined troops to establish it by force of arms: at the same time, Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, laid claim to Bohemia on the strength of a forged clause in the will of Frederic I.; Augustus, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, pretended to the whole Austrian succession in right of his wife, the eldest daughter of Joseph I.; the king of Spain exhibited similar pretensions in favor of his son; and Sardinia revived an ancient claim to the duchy of Milan. But of all proceedings, that of Louis XV. was the most extraordinary, who urged his claims also to the disputed succession,[14] not so much with a view of acquiring it for himself, as to have a pretext for assisting other claimants in dismembering the dominions of the old rival of France. This policy imposed on him the necessity of foreign alliances; from which, however, he could acquire no great accession of strength, since there were no points of agreement in their respective views. Which of them in fact could seriously have wished for a dissolution of the Austrian monarchy and of the European system? yet a treaty or secret alliance, was formed in May, 1741, between France, Bavaria, and Spain, Saxony acceding to it in the following September. 'Thus Europe witnessed the singular

[13] Prince Eugene is said to have caustically remarked, 'that 100,000 men would have guaranteed it far better than 100,000 treaties.'

[14] As descended in a right line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria.

spectacle of three powers, each of which claimed the whole monarchy, uniting with France, who herself had no farther pretence than that of vindicating the rights of all. Under these circumstances, Frederic II. considered it judicious to join the confederacy against Austria; and Prussia, for the first time, became allied with France: but it was soon seen how different were the views of this king from those of the allies: they were to serve him as means for accomplishing his schemes; and though he joined them, it was with the tacit proviso, that he should withdraw as soon as his own convenience would permit.'[15]

Against Maria Theresa nearly half the European states were now in arms, eager to rend in pieces her dominions, in order to satisfy their own ambitious and unjustifiable desires. The noble and enthusiastic reception which that princess met with from her Hungarian subjects is too well known to need any remark, except that it enabled her to make head against her adversaries, though the imperial crown was now taken from her house, and transferred to Charles of Bavaria. Where was she to look for foreign allies, when England was engaged in a maritime war with Spain, and unfortunate Sweden was involved with Russia in a contest by which she lost the important province of Finland? Providence rewarded the magnanimity of Maria Theresa by exciting the British islanders to shake off sloth contracted by a long peace of twenty years, and to draw the sword in the cause of female heroism. That cause was not only a righteous one, but perfectly consistent with the general policy of England, connected as it was with the very existence of her oldest ally, with whom her sons had frequently shed her blood, in opposing the ambitious projects, and dangerous usurpations of the house of Bourbon.

Walpole retired from the approaching storm, and gave place to the impetuous and eloquent Carteret, who immediately adopted the most active and energetic measures. The king of Prussia soon captured Breslau, and made a rapid progress in the province; for he was joyfully received by the natives, two-thirds of whom were protestants. Before the end of the year, however, the confederacy of the allies was broken by the retirement of Frederic, who, in a separate treaty at Dresden, acquired possession of Silesia. Austria soon recovered Bohemia, Bavaria was conquered, and the new emperor, Charles VII., driven into exile. The victory at Dettingen, gained by British and German troops in 1743, compelled the French to recross

[15] Heeren, vol. ii. p. 10.

the Rhine, and assisted to procure the alliance of the king of Sardinia in Italy, and that of Saxony in Germany, for Maria Theresa.

France, unbroken in spirit by her severe losses, sustained in consequence of Frederic's policy, and possessing generals of high military talent, with great internal resources, determined no longer to appear in the character of an auxiliary, but to declare war directly against Austria and England. The artful Frederic now proposed to join again the alliance; and being wanted, was received: his pretext was an anxious desire to preserve the integrity of the German empire, and to succor the exile, Charles VII., in whose election to the imperial throne he had concurred: a stronger motive was his fear of losing Silesia, if Austria, leagued with Saxony, should be victorious. Soon after this alliance, and in the midst of the conquests that ensued, Charles VII. died; and his son Maximilian Joseph recovered his hereditary dominions by renouncing the imperial crown, which was conferred on Francis, the husband of Maria Theresa, notwithstanding the elector of Brandenburg's opposition. He took advantage of the death of Charles VII. to open negotiations for peace; and again separating himself from his confederates, effected a reconciliation with Austria, retaining possession of Silesia under the guarantee of George II.

At the breaking out of this war the French presidencies in the Isle of France and Pondicherry were commanded by two men of extraordinary talent, M. De la Bourdonnais and M. Dupleix; who, if they had not been actuated by a jealousy of each other, might have seriously injured our Eastern possessions. The former, having contrived to equip nine unsound and leaky ships, in which he embarked about 3000 inefficient troops, set sail, in defiance of Commodore Barnet's squadron, by which they were merely saluted with a distant cannonade, and appeared before Madras in September, 1746. That city, being ill-defended, and having only a garrison of 200 British soldiers, surrendered, under the condition of paying a ransom of £440,000; for the instructions given to M. de la Bourdonnais by the French government were peremptory against the retention of any English factory which he might succeed in capturing. Dupleix, however, who had private views of establishing a sovereignty for himself, was indignant at these terms of capitulation, which, after the departure of M. de la Bourdonnais, he broke; and, instead of accepting the stipulated ransom, retained the city, and carried its principal inhabitants in triumph to Pondicherry. He then, in alliance with Anvar-ud-Deen,

nabob of Arcot, with whom he carried on an artful series of intrigues, attacked Fort St. David: which was only saved by the opportune arrival of a British fleet under admiral Griffin. The English having subsequently obtained reinforcements by sea and land, took the field in August, 1748; and accompanied by Anvar-ud-Deen, who had taken offence at the refusal of the French to place Madras under his power, advanced against Pondicherry; but being dispirited by want of confidence in their commanders, harassed by sickness, and exposed to violent rains, they retired from the trenches, after a siege of thirty-one days and a loss of 1000 men. Dupleix's triumphant joy at this event was abated by the necessity imposed upon him of restoring Madras to Great Britain at the conclusion of the war: but the rival settlements, though interdicted from entering into direct hostilities with each other, soon became engaged in them indirectly, through the contests of the native princes: and a new scene was opened to the ambition of the French governor.

In Italy and the Low Countries war was vigorously carried on by France and her remaining allies: a diversion too was made at this period by the rebellion in Scotland: the great battle of Fontenoy, gained by marshal Saxe, restored French affairs in the Netherlands: while the progress of the young Pretender recalled the duke of Cumberland, with the best of the British troops, to England; and that chief, when he returned to the continent, after the victory of Culloden, was unable to stand before the genius of his antagonist. In Italy the contest lay with Spain, whose queen, Elizabeth, was anxious to conquer Milan for her youngest son, Don Philip, by the aid of Naples: but this latter power was neutralised by the presence of an English fleet, which threatened its capital; the influence of the Bourbons being opposed in this quarter by an alliance of Sardinia with England and Austria.

But France soon found herself deserted by Spain, through the death of Philip V.; her navy was almost annihilated by the British fleets; her colonies were either captured or menaced; and while she aimed at the recovery of her superiority by conquests in the Netherlands, which gave occasion to the election of a stadtholder, she became dismayed at the approach of a formidable antagonist in Russia, whom Austria had lately induced to join her alliance. Influenced by these circumstances, Louis XV. made advances toward an accommodation, which led to the celebrated congress at Aix la

Chapelle; where France, after having judiciously employed her ancient policy in separating the allies, concluded a peace, of which the following were the most important conditions:— 1. Mutual restitution of conquests made by France and England: to France, Cape Breton; to England, Madras; to the republic, her frontier fortresses; nothing being concluded respecting the boundaries of Canada and Nova Scotia: 2. resignation of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla in favor of Don Philip: 3. the portions of the Milanese resigned in 1743 given up to Sardinia: 4. the assiento treaty of 1713 confirmed to England for the four years still remaining: 5. Dunkirk to remain fortified on the land side: 6. Silesia guaranteed to Frederic against all claimants; the pragmatic sanction to Austria; and the British succession to the Hanoverian family.

This peace, and the war which preceded it, have been too much censured by English politicians; as if the one had been undertaken, and the other concluded, for the sake of German interests only, and to favor the predilections of the house of Hanover: the fact is, that war was necessary to prevent the dismemberment of a principal state in the system, and a dissolution of the balance of power: with regard to the peace, it was as favorable to the confederates as they had a right to expect, after their defeats in the Netherlands, with the probability of Prussia joining the opposite party: besides, it was of no little moment to put a stop to a contest accompanied with a dreadful waste of human life, and destruction of human comforts. No party can be said to have gained any tangible advantages from it, except the wily Frederic, who acquired a very considerable increase of territory, and a proportionate influence in the European confederation. Britain indeed had become so florishing in manufactures and commerce during the pacific administration of Sir Robert Walpole, that she was enabled not only to subsidise the allies, direct the war, and arrange the peace, but to restore and augment her decaying navy, and to acquire at length the dominion of the sea. This circumstance, to what did it not afterwards lead? That however which had the greatest immediate effect on the system, was the increased influence of Prussia, whose crafty monarch taught European nations a new art, of forming alliance without committing himself, of remaining unfettered while apparently bound, and of seceding when the favorable opportunity arrived. Such a power, by its geographical situation, could not long subsist in its present state: it necessarily sought a consolidation

of its territories: whence arose a change in the previous relations of other nations, a jealousy of Prussian aggrandisement, and a desire of revenge on account of Prussian conquests.

During the few years between the treaty of Aix la Chapelle and the next war, was concealed, under the appearance of public prosperity and general happiness, a strong spirit of jealousy and mistrust. Austria turned her attention immediately to the formation of alliances; and her close connexion with Saxony and Russia, added to the hatred entertained of Frederic by the empress and by count Bruhl the Saxon minister, gave success to her negotiations in that quarter. In the midst of these schemes, the vast power of France naturally occurred to Austria as ready to be thrown into the opposite balance; her alliance therefore was an event greatly to be wished for, though little to be expected: the union however of these two great antagonists was effected by prince Kaunitz, long the very soul of Austrian diplomacy, through his interest at the French court, whose weak and enervated monarch was wholly governed by mistresses. The project held out to Louis XV. was, that Austria and France should rule Europe in common, after the abolition of the Prussian monarchy: the result therefore of Frederic's overthrow would have been the oppression of all the weaker states, the predominancy of Austria in Germany, and the destruction of the confederative system. An alliance offensive and defensive between Austria and France, with a compact of neutrality on the part of Russia, was concluded May 1, 1756, by which Austria virtually renounced her ancient connexion with Britain; since the treaty was made when a war was on the point of breaking out between England and France on account of the North American colonies. It soon indeed became evident that France was forming a plan to seize the colonies of her rival in both hemispheres: in which she was encouraged by those able and ambitious men, La Galissonière and Dupleix, the respective governors of Canada and Pondicherry: she therefore made extraordinary efforts to increase her marine, as well as to engage Spain also in her schemes; but these intrigues were counteracted by the address of Mr. Keene, British resident at Madrid, supported by the upright conduct of the Spanish minister, Don Ricardo Wall, and aided by the extraordinary influence which the Italian singer Farinelli possessed over the queen.

Though Madras, which had been conquered during the last war, was restored to England, and Louisburg to France, agree-

ably to the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, yet hostilities could hardly be said to have ceased between the subjects of the two powers. Plans had been laid down by each, during the latter part of the war, for conquest over the settlements of the other; but they proved abortive. All such projects seem to have been relinquished by England at the peace; but the case was otherwise with her rival; whose ambitious and intriguing chief Dupleix, having gallantly defended Pondicherry in 1748, conceived an idea of supplying the want of commerce to France by large territorial possessions in the east: in order to forward such a scheme, he not only promoted natives of India to the rank of subahdars, who, in the troubles which afflicted the empire generally assumed a licentious independence; but he aimed at raising himself also to supreme power among the native princes; and the number of French troops introduced into India during the late war seemed to favor his designs.

In 1748, on the death of the nizam of the Deccan, the highest officer under the mogul, Dupleix and his associates, with much address, and after the assassination of Nazir Jung, his son and successor, procured the dignity for his grandson, Mirzafa Jung. The usurper, having been in the following year defeated and slain by the nabobs of Cadapah and Condanore, was succeeded by Salabut Jung: before this event, however, Dupleix had labored to procure the nabobship of the Carnatic for a creature of his own, named Chunda Sahib; and though the court of Delhi conferred the office on Anvarud-Deen, this latter prince was, at the instigation of Dupleix, attacked and slain by his rival, Chunda, who obtained a grant of the disputed government from the nizam, Mirzafa Jung.

The new nabob, Chunda Sahib, strenuously supported French interests, and Dupleix, even during the lifetime of his friend, took the command of a district in the Carnatic as large as France itself, assumed the robes of a Mahometan Omrah, coined money for general circulation, decorated himself with titles and insignia of the highest rank, and at length conceived hopes of mounting the throne of Delhi: in which daring project he was encouraged by M. Bussy, his able associate and second in command. In the mean time, Mahommed Ali, son of the late nabob, having taken refuge at Trichinopoly, implored the assistance of the English, in a danger common to both from French usurpation; he was accordingly aided by a body of troops under the command of major Lawrence, a brave and skilful officer; and he afterwards entered into a close alliance with the company, to whom he yielded several

important points which had long been in dispute. On this ground he received additional reinforcements under captain Cope; and the contest was carried on with varied success till the campaign of 1751; when the celebrated Clive, a self-taught warrior, left the civil service of the company, and began a splendid military career. On September 1, he took the fort of Arcot by assault; but after a few days, and before he could secure his conquest, he was besieged by a large body of troops under Chunda Sahib, and the French: his defence of this place ranks among the highest military achievements; and he forced his assailants to abandon the siege when it had continued fifty days. Reinforced by captain Kirkpatrick, he pursued and routed the allies on the plains of Arni, where the enemy's military chest fell into his hands, and 600 of the French Seypoys came over, with their arms, to join his ranks: then joining major Lawrence, he continued to act under that officer with such vigor and talent, that he effectually humbled the enemy, and took from the French many of their late acquisitions. Mahommed Ali retained the undisputed throne of Arcot; and Dupleix being recalled in 1754, a cessation of arms took place; when a conditional treaty was negotiated with his successor M. Godeheu, by which both parties were bound to abstain from oriental government, and all interference in the quarrels of native princes.

Before however this treaty could be sanctioned at home, a new war broke out between the two nations in a different quarter of the globe, respecting the boundaries of Nova Scotia, and the occupation of some neutral islands of the Antilles; but more immediately from the erection of French forts along the Ohio from Louisiana to Canada, by which our western colonies were inclosed, as it were, with a net. Hostilities commenced, and as the great strength of England now lay in her navy, she determined to strike a blow with this weapon: accordingly in 1755 she captured several merchantmen and two ships of the line; but war was not openly proclaimed till May 15, 1756.

The combinations against Prussia had already advanced so far, that a war on the part of that power against Austria and her allies became inevitable: besides, as Austria had given up all connexion with England, and contrary to all political calculation had allied herself with France, and as George II. was trembling for the safety of Hanover, a way lay open for a coalition between England and Prussia; though this did not take place without the accession of Russia to the opposite cause. The two wars soon became amalgamated; though at

the conclusion they were again separated, and gave occasion for two distinct treaties.

If in the former contest Frederic was the aggressor, in this he appeared under the more defensible character of an attacked and injured potentate; and if the earlier period of his career afforded many lessons in political chicanery, his later history exhibited many useful instructions in the arts of war and government. The tremendous and apparently overwhelming coalition against him, influenced by the mean passions of its chiefs, continued indissoluble to the death of Elizabeth of Russia: there was also something peculiar in the connexion of England and Prussia, closely allied, yet scarcely ever acting in common; while nothing but the prospect of a complete revolution could ever have united the houses of Hanover and Brandenburg. This war served to display the splendid talents of the great earl of Chatham, by which the character of the nation was elevated in the eyes of the world. The palm of glory was divided between the able minister of England and the intrepid monarch of Prussia.

The decisive character of Frederic caused him to strike the first blow against the confederates, after he had demanded a categorical answer respecting her intentions from Austria, and had been refused: having invaded Saxony without delay, and captured Dresden, he found in the archives of that capital evidence of the designs of his enemies, which he published to the world; and soon afterwards he gained a great victory over the Austrians at Lowoschutz: by the terms of their agreement, Saxony, Austria, Russia, and France were instantly and simultaneously to take up arms, on the breaking out of hostilities: besides, the empire was induced by Austria and Sweden by France, to join the coalition, under pretence of guaranteeing the peace of Westphalia. It happened fortunately for Frederic, that, when more than half the nations of Europe were leagued together for his destruction, France determined to commence hostilities against the British in Hanover: this forced them, together with Hesse and Brunswick, into immediate action; and gave occasion to the illustrious Ferdinand, the pupil and preserver of Frederic, to display, in the conduct of the allied armies, abilities of the highest order: had that great commander ever suffered such a defeat as would have let the French troops into the principal scenes of war, the fortunes of Frederic must have been irretrievably ruined. The chief events of this memorable contest, to the death of George II., were as follow:—In 1757 Frederic invaded

Bohemia, and gained a great victory over the Austrians at Prague; but was obliged to abandon the siege of that place, after the drawn battle of Kolin. The Russian army, amounting to 62,000 foot and 19,000 horse, beside Tartars and Calmucs, advanced and were attacked by the Prussian General Lehwald, who was defeated with great slaughter, August 30. Hanover was overrun and laid under contribution by the French; and the duke of Cumberland, who was accounted a great general because he had defeated and butchered the miserable rebels in north Britain, concluded the disgraceful convention of Closter-Seven, when the French and imperialists advanced in great force under the prince of Soubise: the fall of Frederic then seemed inevitable; but he retrieved his affairs by the important victory of Rosbach. In May, 1758, he made a fruitless attempt on Olmutz, but gained a great victory over the Russians at Zorndorf, August 25, by means of which, and having also driven back the Swedes, he covered Brandenburg: in the meantime, prince Ferdinand had pushed the French beyond the Rhine, defeated count Clermont, and formed a junction with the British troops, whose disasters he soon repaired. In October the Austrian general Daun gained the battle of Hochkirchen in which marshal Keith was slain; but Silesia was still preserved, and the king, having obliged the Austrians to fall back into Bohemia, returned to the protection of Saxony: Daun raised the siege of Dresden, into which place Frederic now entered in triumph.

In 1759 the Russians again advanced with Austrian reinforcements under the skilful general Laudohn; and Frederic, after a gallant resistance, suffered a severe defeat on the 12th of August, at Cunersdorf, though he effected some masterly movements afterwards: the battle, however, of Minden, gained twelve days before, though rendered only half a victory by Lord George Sackville's shameful conduct, saved him from annihilation: from that time also a continued superiority was maintained by prince Ferdinand, and the greater part of Hanover was preserved. In November the Prussians sustained a heavy loss at Maxen; but the spirit of the king supported him under all reverses. In 1760 the Prussian general Fouquet was defeated by Laudohn, and a fruitless siege of Dresden undertaken; yet Silesia was not lost, and a junction of the Russian and Austrian forces in that province was skilfully prevented. The king, surrounded by three hostile armies in his camp at Lignitz, defeated Laudohn, August 15; but the Russians and Austrians entered Brandenburg, and pillaged

Berlin. Frederic hastened into Saxony, which he was enabled to recover, and to maintain by one of his most glorious and important victories at Torgau. Before the close of the year he lost his best ally in George II.; and the bonds of his connexion with England, though not dissolved, were materially loosened.

During this time the war was vigorously kept up by sea, where the British, under their famous admirals, Hawke and Boscawen, soon gained a superiority which opened a ready way to colonial conquests. In the early part of the contest, Minorca had been shamefully lost; the disgrace of which event should be divided between the ministry who sent insufficient relief, and the admiral who failed to make the best use of what was sent; very unfairly, however, punishment fell only on the latter. In North America the prospects of the war seemed at first unfavorable: its provinces could not, without great difficulty, defend themselves against the ravages of the French and Indians; while British troops were led to slaughter by generals scarcely fit to conduct a review: but Pitt soon infused energy into our commanders; the skilful Amherst and the intrepid Wolf renewed the most splendid days of England's glory: Canada was added to the British empire; the French forts on the Ohio, one of the principal causes of the war, were all destroyed; and the American colonists were left free to extend their settlements as far westward as their treaties with the Indians or their conquests might permit.

About this period an occurrence took place, which is connected with a question of considerable interest, regarding the time when the American colonists began to entertain a notion of throwing off their dependence on the mother country. In 1760 an order of council was issued from Great Britain, directing the officers of customs at Boston to carry into effect the acts of the trade, and apply to the supreme court of judicature in Massachusets for writs of assistance. Accordingly application was made, in November, to the court then sitting at Salem; chief justice Sewal, however, expressed great doubt of the legality of such a writ, as well as of the power of the court to grant it; nor did any of the other judges say a word to contradict him: but as the application proceeded from the crown, a hearing could not be refused, which was accordingly fixed for the next term of court in February 1761. In December Sewal died, and his place was supplied by the lieutenant-governor Hutchinson. Otis, as advocate-general, was called on by the officers of the customs to argue their cause; but he, believing

all such writs to be illegal, refused to plead, and, with a spirit characteristic of the man, resigned his lucrative office. He then yielded to the opposite call of the merchants, and undertook their defence, but with singular disinterestedness refused all remuneration. In an argument of four or five hours, Otis laid down with great clearness the principles of civil liberty, dwelling with particular force on the point, that taxation without representation is totally inconsistent with those principles. Of this celebrated speech nothing was published at the time except a few garbled extracts; but president Adams took notes at its delivery; and he has declared, that 'Mr. Otis's oration breathed into the nation the breath of life; that American independence was then and there born; that the seeds of patriots and heroes, by whom the *non sine Diis animosus infans* was to be defended, were at that time sown; for every man of an immense audience appeared to go away, as he himself did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance.[16]

Returning to the east, we find that fortune was at first unfavorable to Great Britain. An application made to the English by Salabat Jung, who wished to get rid of his French allies, could not be received on account of their own affairs in Bengal; that settlement being in danger of total destruction from the attack of the subahdar Surajah Dowla. This weak, vicious, and tyrannical potentate was grandson of the celebrated Aliverdi Khan, who had a favorite wife, a woman of great talents and virtue. The old subahdar on his death-bed, knowing well the disposition of his youthful successor, earnestly recommended him on all important affairs to consult the good old queen, whose discernment and foresight would be a guard to his inexperience: in obedience to this advice, when the prince entertained thoughts of attacking Calcutta, he applied to his female oracle, who thus addressed him:—'Beware what you do: the English are a wise, intelligent, peaceable, and industrious people: they are like bees; if properly managed and protected they will bring you honey: but beware of disturbing the hive: you may destroy some of them; but in the end, believe me, they will sting you to death.'[17] Irritated, however, against the British on account of their growing power in the Carnatic and in Bengal, he determined to attack them; urging as an ostensible pretext their abusing the privilege of passports to the purposes of mercantile fraud, and their protecting a

[16] Life of James Otis of Massachusets, by William Tudor, Boston, 1823.

[17] History of India and Bengal, by Colonel Capper.

native of high rank, who had fled from the subahdar's tyranny, On the 18th of June, 1756, he besieged Calcutta with 50,000 men; and as the place possessed scarcely any means of defence, he gained possession of it, after repeated assaults, by capitulation. Enraged at finding only 50,000 rupees in the treasury, and pretending that valuable property was buried under ground, as a punishment for the concealment of it, he ordered Mr. Holwell, with 145 other persons, to be thrust into a dungeon of the garrison, called 'the black hole,' where the indescribable heat of a sultry night killed all but twenty-three: having then received congratulations from his courtiers on this glorious achievement, he left a garrison of 3000 men in Calcutta and departed, exulting in the idea that he had exterminated the English.

Admiral Watson, however, and colonel Clive soon returned to relieve their countrymen: by their strenuous co-operation Calcutta was retaken and fortified; Clive also reduced the large town of Hoogly, where the subahdar had established his magazines; and having defeated him in a general engagement, forced him to sue for peace: it was granted, on the restoration of their goods, factories, and privileges to the English, and an extension of the presidency over thirty-eight neighboring villages. To the preservation of this peace the subahdar swore on the Koran; but only a few days had passed, before he entered into correspondence with M. Bussy, whom he invited to Bengal. Clive, in the mean time, having attacked the French settlements in that province, and reduced their principal fortress at Chandernagore, turned his arms again against the perfidious subahdar; when having discovered that Mir Jaffier, commmander of Dowla's forces, was disaffected toward that prince, he drew him into a difficult and dangerous negotiation; and in return for services, placed him, after the great victory of Plassy, on his master's throne. A treaty was now concluded with Mir Jaffier, by which he not only confirmed all former treaties with the English, but placed the French possessions under their power, enlarged their territory, and gave to them and their allies £2,750,000 as an indemnification. In the next campaign, when the scene of war was transferred to the Coromandel coast, the British arms were less successful; for M. de Lally, being gallantly seconded by the count d'Estaing, reduced Cuddalore and Fort St. David; whence he conceived hopes of subduing all the British possessions in the Carnatic. In pursuance of this object he invested Madras; but the firm conduct of governor Pigot, seconded by the courage and talent

of colonels Lawrence and Draper, enabled it to hold out till succors arrived: soon afterwards colonel Coote took the command of the British forces, and by several signal victories, restored their superiority in this quarter. In the mean time, the Dutch, having combined with the new subahdar and the French, sent a detachment from Batavia to destroy the British factories and trade in Bengal; but after a severe defeat by sea and land, they submitted to such conditions as it pleased the government of Calcutta to impose on them; while Mir Jaffier was deposed by Clive, in favor of his son-in-law Mir Cossim.

Encouraged by success, colonel Coote now determined to attack Pondicherry, which, being too strong for an assault, was closely invested by sea and land, and reduced to great distress. The blockade being afterwards changed into a regular siege, the inhabitants became anxious to capitulate: but Lally, whose furious passions were supposed even to have disordered his brain, turned a deaf ear to their supplications, and resolved to defend the place to the utmost extremity. Thus stood affairs in India at the close of 1760: the detail of which will be resumed in the body of the work: meanwhile, let us take a rapid glance at those of Ireland, from the period of England's first interference with them, in order that we may be better prepared to estimate the events of our own times, relating to the sister kingdom.

The page of Irish history is in truth a dark one: it exhibits so much native violence and treachery, with so much foreign oppression and neglect, so many impotent attempts to conquer, and so many ill-combined efforts to resist, that the mind is divided between pity for its sufferings, and indignation at its folly and crimes. Long before the English set foot in Ireland as enemies, the Danish invasions had aggravated all the evils of an ill-regulated government, and prepared it to yield a partial triumph to the first weak efforts of its neighbors, distracted as these themselves were by other wars and internal dissentions. It was a great misfortune that the Anglo-Norman invasion under Henry II. was not powerful enough to affect a change, like that which took place in England at the Conquest, when the Saxons were quickly dispossessed of their lands, without those tedious and protracted struggles which have convulsed Ireland during successive ages; unfortunately too, when the question of property could be no longer connected with national distinctions, it became involved in the still more harassing difference of religious faith: still however it contrived in all cases to retain its chief characters of *confiscation*

and plunder. While the civil power was incapable of resisting the enterprises of the English, the ecclesiastial system of Ireland was brought into such a connection with the papacy,[18] as gave influence to those bulls of the Roman pontiffs Adrian IV. and Alexander III., which affected to bestow on Henry II. the sovereignty of the country; nor, until Henry VIII. denied the pope's supremacy, was any other foundation sought for the authority of an English monarch over Ireland. It is a curious circumstance, that the very attachment to the Roman see, which constituted the original ground of connection with England, should afterwards prove an active principle of the repeated efforts made by the Irish to detach themselves from this country. Henry II. had early conceived a design of annexing Ireland to his dominions, and procured the papal sanction, as necessary for extending the influence of true religion: but the occupation which he found in subduing the insurrection of his brother, in securing his own territories, and in contending with the inflexible spirit of Becket, diverted him from the prosecution of this design, until the disorders of Irish government presented an opportunity not to be declined. His embarrassments prevented him from conducting an expedition in person; though he authorised his subjects to engage in the enterprise; and a very small force was enabled to effect so much, through the dissentions of the natives, that the king's jealousy was roused; and he proceeded in person to Ireland, about two years and a half after the first expedition of his people. In six months however he was recalled to England; and Ireland was abandoned to a military aristocracy, entrusted with the prosecution of his plans: thus the original conquest was very limited and imperfect. Henry himself did not visit more than a third of the country; nor did he construct a fort, or establish a garrison there: but the real conquest was the work of successive adventurers, and was tainted with the wretched policy which must ever belong to predatory enterprises, guided only by private interest. From the first settlement in Leinster under Strongbow, to the reign of Elizabeth, the people of Ireland, with the exception of the English colonists and a few favored natives within the pale, continued under their own laws and institutions, except when they interfered with English persons or property; in which case they were subjected to the most harsh and iniquitous proceedings. They were not unfrequently excited to rebellion, in order that

[18] The power of the Roman see was established in a council assembled in 1111, and confirmed in another convened in 1152.

English adventurers might seize their possessions; while opinions were sedulously propagated and readily believed, that they were an incurably vicious race, worthy only of destruction or spoliation: the great body of the natives were reputed not only as aliens, but enemies; insomuch that to kill a wild Irishman in time of peace was adjudged to be no felony. Nor was this freedom from English laws considered by the Irish themselves a privilege; on the contrary, they were so sensible of the advantages which those laws bestowed, that they were eager to be brought under their salutary dominion: indeed they petitioned Edward I. for this boon, and offered 8000 marks in return for so great a favor. Nor was the king himself averse to their proposal; but when he felt it necessary to consult the prelates and nobles by whom Ireland was governed, on this question, they set it aside on the principle that perpetual war was advantageous to the English, as enabling them to exterminate the Irish and gain possession of their property. In progress of time the hostility of the natives was reinforced by that of English settlers themselves, who gradually declined from the laws and usages of their original country into those of the people whose subjugation was in vain attempted. But though great degeneracy prevailed among the inhabitants of English blood, the principles of a parliamentary constitution had happily been introduced and preserved; and though the origin of the Irish parliament may be involved in some obscurity, the earliest assembly which deserves the name appears to have been convened in 1295, when the representatives of boroughs were first summoned to the English parliament. A claim of legislative independence has been at different times maintained; but it was established only a short time before the Irish national assembly merged in the legislature of the British empire. The strongest check given to this spirit of independence was in the year 1495, by the law of Poynings, which gave to the privy councils of the two countries a negative, before debate, on all proceedings of the Irish parliament. It declares, that 'no parliament shall be holden in this land, until the acts be certified into England:' it was amended in the third and fourth years of Philip and Mary, when the governor and council were empowered to certify during the session other causes or considerations which they might think expedient. At that time such was the condition of Ireland, that this law, which came to be considered a badge of national disgrace, was cherished as a protection for the commons against oppression by the licentious nobles. The royal supremacy, acknowleged by the English in

1534, was recognised two years afterwards by the parliament of Ireland; though it was strenuously opposed by the clergy and people, encouraged by the Roman see to resist all edicts adverse to that church and its head. When their efforts were at length frustrated by the power of the government, a law was passed in 1541, that the title of king, instead of lord of Ireland, should be given to the English monarch.

Henry VIII. presented the first outline of the reformation to Ireland, as he had done to England, without any regard to fitness, preparation, or previous instruction; his practice being rather to command assent than to secure opinion; but the result was different; the people generally expressed an abhorrence of his innovation; and their opposition to the English liturgy, introduced in 1550, was so strong, that it was deemed expedient to enforce its use by a proclamation, rather than attempt to procure for it the sanction of parliament: indeed so many inhabitants of Ireland had been despoiled, wholly or partially, of their possessions, long before the Reformation, that a hatred of their oppressors, thus engendered, extended itself to their doctrines, and contributed to keep the Irish people steady in the old faith: hence, the early death of Edward VI. and the accession of Mary almost obliterated the remains of protestantism which lingered in the country.

In the reign of Elizabeth schemes of oppressive violence assumed a high degree of activity. At the very commencement of her government the aspect of this imperious sovereign was harsh and severe toward her Irish subjects, with whom even her father had condescended to temporize; yet did she make the bold attempt to force on them the new doctrines, whilst all her measures savored of hostility against the old proprietors. Profligate adventurers now flowed into the country; corrupt governors rendered the royal authority odious to the people; atrocious murders and extensive forfeitures of land shook the whole frame of society; quarter was rarely given in battle, and prisoners were murdered in cold blood: yet the Reformation made no progress; for those who were compelled to war against the queen's power would not feel disposed to favor her religion. The papal court naturally took advantage of this state of things; and, in conjunction with the bigoted king of Spain, excited the great rebellion under Hugh O'Neale; which, though successful in the beginning, and augmented by the injudicious conduct of Sir William Fitzwilliam and the earl of Essex, was subdued by the energy of lord Mountjoy. But though the suppression of the insurgents and

the humiliation of O'Neale prepared the country for improvement, the struggle gave rise to a Roman catholic party in Ireland strongly opposed to the government; and this feeling, cherished as it was by foreign influence, materially opposed the progress of the reformed doctrines, and, with them, the melioration of the people. In 1593, the university of Dublin was founded, to promote the education of protestant clergy; and in the last year of Elizabeth's reign the New Testament was printed in the Irish language.

The state of Ireland at the accession of James I. offered to him an occasion of doing much good; and that great master-spirit of the age, lord Bacon, earnestly exhorted his sovereign to adopt the policy of conciliation and improvement toward 'a land endowed with so many dowries of nature:' but the pedantic monarch, vain of his scholastic and theological acquirements, instead of beginning his operations by healing the wounds of this distracted country, and securing the peace which had been so dearly bought, started the question of religious conformity; and his Irish government, which favored the lofty spirit of prerogative, met every argument and remonstrance of the people with fine and imprisonment: troops were soon marched to quell the movements of rebellion; lands were declared forfeited to a prodigious extent; and James, urged by a spirit of colonisation as well as avarice, brought the estates of his Irish subjects under the most unwarrantable legal procedures. His plans however suffered but little obstruction, owing to the previous exhaustion of the country: by his northern settlement of six escheated counties he gave origin to a powerful protestant interest in Ulster, which long served as an effectual opposition to the Roman catholic population in the other provinces; but his son and immediate successor reaped a sad harvest sown by despotic power. Charles I., though a more amiable man than his father, possessed the same high notions of regal prerogative, with still more unsteadiness of principle: his reign in Ireland was a mere continuation of inquisitions into the titles of estates; while jurors, who refused to find for the crown, *against evidence*, were subjected to the punishment of fine and imprisonment. The discontent excited by James's colonisation of Ulster, which deprived so many proprietors of their ancient estates, and subjected them to the oppression of inferior agents, was greatly augmented by the fraudulent insincerity of the king; who evaded his promise of the graces, or bill of rights (for which the Romanists had agreed to pay £120 000),

when he had expectations of acquiring the money without them. The tyrannical Strafford not only prevented this grant, but boldly avowed it; and one motive for the evasion was founded on a base design of that governor to subvert all the titles of estates in Connaught, for the purpose of accomplishing the plan of a great western colonisation, which king James had been induced to relinquish. As allusion has been made to some of the arbitrary and rapacious proceedings of lord Strafford, it would be unjust toward the memory of that nobleman if we did not confess that in many of his acts he had the interests of Ireland in view. His attempts to reform the established church, and improve the constitution of Dublin university, are deserving of praise: but the wisest of his measures was the great encouragement he gave to the linen manufacture, in which he spent large sums from his private fortune. It is melancholy, however, to reflect on the counteracting evils produced by his subversion of the woollen manufacture, which was then beginning to florish in Ireland; but these must chiefly be ascribed to the fears of English manufacturers, and to that policy which thought the pre-eminence of one country was only to be maintained by the depression of others.

The discontent arising from Charles's insincerity, and the terror of Strafford's proceedings, added to the rising menaces of the puritans against the Romanists, excited in the latter strong desires to struggle for the recovery of their lost possessions; and the rumor of commotions in England led them to hope for a successful result. Though the arbitrary Strafford had paid the penalty of his offences, the infatuation of Charles induced him to appoint two treacherous foes to the same important trust, as lords chief justices: these were Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, creatures of the parliament, who secretly fomented all the plans of the insurgents, with a view to the king's embarrassment, and the enriching of themselves by forfeitures:[19] accordingly, they contrived to set aside the intended favor of his majesty, by intercepting some graces again transmitted in the summer of 1641. During the adjournment of parliament, the flames of civil war broke out in this afflicted country, and the rebellion of O'Neale is still fresh in the minds of men, from the horrible massacres committed by the insurgents, and the dreadful retaliation of the English and Scotch. In this great insurrection there were four parties, each actuated by different motives; the ancient Irish, anxious

[19] See O'Driscol's History of Ireland, vol. i. chap. 13.

to recover their lost estates; the Anglo-Irish, driven into the contest by the lords chief justices, that they might in turn become objects of plunder: the puritans, or parliamentary party; and the king's party, as it was called, which consisted chiefly of Roman catholics, directed by their own hierarchy, and anxious for the absolute and unrestrained authority of the pope. In the fierce conflict that ensued, the cruelties of lord Inchiquin, the fate of the learned archbishop Usher, and that of the celebrated earl of Cork, form melancholy episodes; while every hope of accommodation, which at one time appeared probable, was dissipated by the unworthy jealousies and insatiable avarice of lord Ormond, to which he sacrificed the interests of all. In March, 1644, propositions drawn up with great wisdom were submitted to the king at Oxford, from the Irish confederates, who promised, when he granted these, to devote their lives and fortunes to his service; but Charles, with his usual insincerity and indecision, neither accepting nor rejecting their proposals, submitted them to lord Ormond; whose intrigues delayed the negotiation, until the concessions of a monarch nearly deposed could be of little avail. The treaty however which was formed, completely separated the king's party from that of the parliament; which latter carried on the contest against the confederates with varied success: until the long continuance of this fearful strife gave a pretext to Cromwell for new acts of injustice, the real object of which was to remove a formidable body of fanatical levellers from England, and reward them with the spoils of plundered Ireland. That stern republican chief, driving all before him, took several strong towns, and murdered their garrisons in cold blood; when, having by these means, as well as by the infliction of every species of misery on the nation, broken down the spirit of the confederacy, he deputed Ludlow and Ireton to conduct the war; which soon languished from the dispersion of the confederates, the emigration of the natives, and the dreadful slaughter committed by the parliamentary forces. The soldiers, left, as it were, in full possession of the country, then appropriated to themselves large estates of nobles and gentry, and thus laid the foundation of the Cromwellian interest in Ireland; while their leader acquired, by means of his Irish campaign, that increased importance which was necessary for his usurpation in England. The fanatics at first proscribed the national religion, hunted down the priests with blood hounds, and reduced the serfs remaining on the estates to a condition bordering on slavery: but in progress of time the excitement

of religious mysticism gave way to continued prosperity, to the genial influence of climate, and to the cheerful disposition of the people; so that these fanatics themselves were absorbed in the two great divisions of the nation; the poorer classes in the catholic, and the richer in the protestant communion.

Among the first who declared in favor of the restoration were those very levellers, whose zeal against monarchy had been so violent: some time previously they had united under Ormond as their head; and he had connected their interests with the crown. Charles was glad to receive them into power as an excuse for his ingratitude toward his Irish adherents; but it must be confessed that the king's position was a critical one: the Cromwellians were determined not to resign their lands without a contest; the army in Ireland was with them; and they had powerful friends in England. A feeble attempt indeed was made, more as a pretence than a desire, of adjusting the claims of parties; but the acts of settlement and explanation were soon passed, by which a great part of the land; in Ireland was confirmed to its new owners, and a protestant proprietary very generally substituted in place of the Roman catholics. But notwithstanding the hostility of the Cromwellians, and the sentence of beggary passed on catholic landowners, the old acts of Elizabeth and James respecting conformity of worship were scarcely ever put in force: the Romish clergy held their synods unmolested; and catholics were admitted into both houses of parliament. In fact the reign of Charles II., with respect to its Irish policy, may be distinguished by two periods: the first was employed in establishing the protestant ascendency; seven years of the latter were occupied in encouraging the hopes of the Romanists, whom the acts of settlement and explanation had depressed; while the remainder was filled up by a second vice-royalty of the duke of Ormond, who now displayed much wisdom and moderation, and thereby preserved good order, when England was disturbed by terrors of the popish plot. The services indeed of this nobleman became indispensable for the management of affairs in his native country, with which no man had so intimate an acquaintance; as no one also had so much interest with all parties: he had not only recovered his hereditary estates, forfeited during the rebellion, but had acquired immense wealth from confiscated lands of the Anglo-Irish, whom he had inveigled by promises of restitution at the Restoration. To atone in some measure for this breach of faith, and to reconcile men to the splendor of his fortunes, he

exerted himself in promoting agricultural and commercial interests: he made strenuous efforts to establish manufactures, and employed his authority with the British government to obtain its concurrence in his plans: but though his schemes were directed with great skill and judgment, they were encountered by the deep-rooted prejudices of the English people; especially of the political economists, with the duke of Buckingham at their head. This opposition was exerted with success against the importation of Irish lean cattle into England: commercial jealousy proceeded to place Ireland, as it were, in a state of blockade, and to prevent as much as possible her rising prosperity: even the spoliators and intruding settlers entered into these views, and assisted to keep their adopted country poor and dependent; the Cromwellians setting the example, and by a systematic depression and sacrifice of Irish interests, endeavouring to court the ruling powers in England. When Buckingham, with the assistance of English and Scotch economists, had by the coercion of their trade reduced the Irish to desperation, the king himself, by one of the few wise acts of his reign, extended to them relief; allowing them a free trade with all nations at peace with England: Ormond also still prosecuted his designs for the good of Ireland, inviting thither foreigners from the Low Countries, skilled in the manufacture of woollen and linen goods; but his excellent plans were interrupted by the infamous contrivance of the popish plot. The king himself, a Romanist at heart, must have known its falsehood: but he suffered it to take its course, without interposing his prerogative of mercy in favor of English or Irish victims: it was said indeed that he dared not; but no long time afterwards, thinking himself strong enough to take decisive measures in favor of a religion which offered the best foundation for absolute power, he determined to change the executive government of Ireland, and began by dismissing the duke of Ormond. Death however put a stop to his designs, and probably with them to terrible commotions; for the interests of the Cromwellians were all intimately connected with the Reformation. A re-establishment of the Roman church must have reinstated the old catholic proprietors in their estates: hence that vehement zeal for the protestant establishment which prevailed at this period, and long afterwards.

On the accession of James II., agitation was greater in Ireland than in England, because the property which depended on the king's political and religious opinions was much larger and more recently acquired; including not only church lands,

but more than half the private estates of the people; and this was now chiefly held by the party which brought his father's head to the block. His conduct was at first calculated to calm the fears of his protestant subjects; but after some successful persecutions in Scotland, and the extinction of Monmouth's rebellion, he gave a loose rein to his inclinations; and the most violent methods were used for transferring to Roman catholics the ascendency which had been enjoyed by protestants: but while he supposed that his authority was as firmly fixed as that of his brother had been, and equally able to resist the assaults of exasperated patriotism; and while he could see nothing but enemies vanquished, and a nation prostrate at his feet, he suddenly found himself without a throne or a country. The Cromwellians, who foresaw that it would be necessary to fight the battle over again for their estates, eagerly joined the whigs, before the king's abdication: indeed, during the administration of the popish lord lieutenant, earl Tyrconnel, numbers of them abandoned their homes, and flocked into the towns; 1500 families embarked for England, with lord Clarendon, the late viceroy; and many fled into Holland, where they had established a communication with the prince of Orange.

At the landing of William, the catholics were thrown into a violent ferment, while the spirits of the protestants revived: both parties took up arms; but the efforts of the latter were soon reduced to the brave resistance of the Inniskilliners, and the celebrated defence of Derry, which formed a memorable episode in the glorious war of the Revolution. For the benefit of the approaching change, so important to the well-being of mankind, Ireland was doomed to pay a terrible price; she afforded an arena for the combatants in that great strife, which almost swept away the last remnant of her ancient families, though it saved the empire from the despotism of the Stuarts and the thraldrom of the Roman church.

When James returned from the asylum which he had sought in France, his acts of attainder were numerous and unrelenting; including in their operation more than 2000 protestant proprietors: he also passed acts for confiscating the property of William's adherents; but was resolute against the repeal of Poynings' law, the glory of which was reserved for the eloquence of a Grattan, and the liberality of a protestant prince and parliament. William neglected affairs in Ireland, until the French landed so many stores and men in the country, that its conquest appeared not improbable: he then sent an expedition under the command of Schomberg, who was created

a duke on the occasion: but his own presence was soon required; and the battle of the Boyne drove the poor-spirited James, tired of his attempt to play the game of war, to take refuge again at the court of France. The Irish gained much by his absence: their army was equal to that of William; the country was suited to a defensive warfare; and the population was on their side: they had every fair hope of victory; but the levity and bad policy of the French king frustrated their expectations, and preserved to his great rival a power, which was destined to shake his own to its very foundation.

William's army was principally composed of mercenaries: a rabble of various nations, collected together by the hope of plunder, and surpassing in their crimes all that had been yet known in the conflicts of christian people: a 'commission of forfeited land,' &c. having been issued, its members, who eagerly began to seize whatever they could turn to their own profit, made bitter complaints against these soldiers, as being always before them in the career of spoliation. It is needless to follow this army of the faith in all its scenes of pillage and of bloodshed. While William was in his camp before Limerick, he issued a proclamation, enjoining the payment of tithes to the protestant church by Romanists, and persons of every other persuasion; but this was not carried into full effect before the conclusion of the contest. Being soon afterwards compelled to retreat, and heartily tired of his Irish campaign, he left the conduct of civil administration to three lords chief justices, and that of war to the Dutch general Ginckel, though the celebrated Marlborough found several occasions of displaying those talents which became afterwards the admiration of Europe. The war soon took, like all other wars against Ireland, the turn of confiscation: both William and Ginckel were anxious to grant terms, before the murderous conflicts of 1691 commenced; for they well knew that every acre of land wrested from the Irish would cost England a hundred times its value; but the Irish council would not forego the hope of forfeitures; nor would the church surrender any part of its claims to universal tithe and dominion. 'I did very much hope,' said the secretary of the council in a letter to Ginckel, 'that on this progress over the Shannon, some favorable declaration might have been emitted to break the Irish army, and save the cost of a field battle; but I see our civil officers regard more the adding £50 a year to the English proprietary in this kingdom, than saving to England the expense of £50,000.'[20]

[20] O'Driscol's History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 229.

On the seventh of July, about a week after the taking of Athlone, a proclamation was issued, on which the subsequent articles of Galway and Limerick were founded, promising, among other things, 'that all those enjoying rank or dignity in the service of the late king James shall be continued in the same rank or employment, or advanced to higher posts:' but the efforts of the court party, afraid of losing their share in confiscations, concurred with those of the French attached to the cause of James, in effecting a prolongation of the war; during the heat of which it is curious to remark that one of the French protestants, forced out of their country by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, came to Dublin; and there, by means of a company, firmly established that far-famed linen manufacture which had been fixed in Ireland by lord Strafford and revived by many subsequent projectors. At length, after several murderous conflicts, this dreadful contest came to a close: Limerick surrendered; and the celebrated articles were drawn up, by which peace was secured to two nations which never ought to be at war with each other.

These articles were divided into two sets; one civil, which had reference to the general interests of the catholics; the other military, relating to the army, towns, fortresses, &c., then in the hands of Irish troops: the former stipulated that Roman catholics should enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II.; and that all who submitted to obedience, should enjoy the same privileges and immunities which they did in that reign, on taking the oath of allegiance, and no other; also, that all Irish catholics in the army, or within protection of the Irish quarters, should have quiet enjoyment of their estates; and be restored, they or their heirs, to such as they were possessed of, or entitled to, in the aforesaid reign. Moreover, the liberty of exercising all pursuits and professions was guaranteed to them as fully as in that reign: and, finally, a general amnesty was granted.

While the great question of emancipation was depending on the fiat of parliament, this treaty, especially that part of it which relates to the civil and religious privileges conceded to Roman catholics, was the subject of much discussion and dispute. By the promoters of that measure it was asserted that the concession admitted of no equivocation or reserve; that the only question was, what was the state of the catholics under Charles II.? and this was one of easy solution, being within the memory of persons living, and also accurately set

forth in an authentic publication[1] printed in the reign of James II. Besides, all proclamations before the Limerick treaty expressly referred to those existing rights and privileges; and bishop Burnet's authority distinctly marks the general opinion, entertained at the time by all parties, as acknowleging and confirming them.[2] On the other hand, the advocates for protestant ascendency affirmed, that no claim of concession could be less valid than that which rested on the alleged ground of national faith: it was contended that the separation of the articles into two sets implied an understanding by both parties, that the military articles might then be finally concluded; but that the civil portion of them, as involving considerations of government, could not be valid, unless ratified by civil authority. A confirmation of these, it was confessed, was promised to be obtained from the king; and they were accordingly by him confirmed: but it must have been understood that even the king's sole authority was not sufficient in constitutional questions; that the first article therefore, which alone was general, contained an express reference to the ratification of parliament; and parliament accordingly, in its act of confirmation, omitted the first article altogether, while it restricted the rest in some particulars.

Happily this irritating question has been transferred from the senate to the schools; though we must allow, that it was one admirably calculated to exercise the talents, and open the prospects, of aspiring canditates for honours and emoluments both in church and state. It is not necessary to tear open wounds that are beginning to cicatrise; but it scarcely can be denied, that if the determination of William's parliament was equitable and just, no engine was ever constituted so convenient for diplomatic agency as the British constitution.

To the disgrace of Ginckel, at the ratification of the treaty, he was found conniving at the omission of a clause, which extended its benefits to landed proprietors in Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Sligo, and Mayo; by which a vast extent of land would have been thrown into the hands of those who were anxiously waiting for confiscations; among whom was the general himself: but fortunately a large French fleet, sent by Louis XIV., like all his other succors, too late for ensuring military success, just then arrived in the Shannon: this, together with the honorable interference of William, prevented so infamous an

[1] Answer to the Coventry Letter, by a person of honor. London, 1688.

[2] Burnet's History, book v.

attempt at fraud and spoliation: the plunder of James's exiled adherents, and of others not included in the articles, ought to have satisfied the harpies, though the quantity of land now forfeited was inconsiderable when compared with former confiscations: it amounted however to 1,060,000 acres; but in April, 1692, the privy council, which met as a court of claims, restored 233,106 acres to catholic proprietors; and about 75,000 more were given back by William to persons whom he pardoned.

In the year following the treaty of Limerick, a statute was enacted in England, excluding Roman catholics from the Irish parliament; and in the second year of Anne this restriction was formally acknowleged by that parliament itself: the elective franchise however was not wholly taken from them till 1727. In the reign of Anne also the penal laws were enacted; a measure, considered by the Irish protestants at that time as one of self-defence rather than of unwarrantable oppression: for being disappointed in their desire of entering, like Scotland, into an incorporated union with England, and being abandoned to their own exertions, they proceeded to take away all political strength from the numerous, and therefore still powerful, party by which they were menaced.

But if we would know the real spirit in which Ireland was governed, from the time of king William to near the end of the last century, and how she was sacrificed to a system of policy injurious to one kingdom, but ruinous to the other, we must not look so much to her penal laws, which were seldom enforced, as to her fiscal and commercial regulations, instituted at the call of English manufacturing and commercial classes. The first fatal shock which her prosperity received was from the statutes of the tenth and eleventh of William III., prohibiting all exportation of Irish woollen goods, except into England and Wales; before which time, this florishing manufacture gave employment to thousands, ruined or impoverished by protestant confiscations; drew a profitable return into Ireland from all parts of Europe; and repaired the waste of centuries by raising up an industrious and quiet population. Then began that rapacious system of landed proprietors, which reduced the miserable people, whom the jealousy of rival commerce had driven back on the soil, to a state of misery unequalled among the most barbarous nations; while, at the time of the Scottish union, Ireland was the most grievous burden on the English nation, drawing from the general defence 30,000 men to keep it in a poor and resourceless

subjection. The condition of its wretched populace is thus delineated by one of its most generous advocates:—'There are thousands,' says dean Swift, 'who think themselves blessed, if they can obtain a hut worse than the squire's dog-kennel, and an acre of ground for a potato plantation, on the condition of being as very slaves as any in America. What can be more deplorable than to see wretches starving in the midst of plenty?'[3] Ireland did not want patriots at the time to state and remonstrate against these grievances. Molyneux, the friend of Locke, published in 1698, 'The Case of Ireland;' in which he demonstrated with great force and spirit that the right of such oppressive legislation was justified by no plea of conquest, purchase, or precedent: but the temper of the English parliament was not then such as to brook remonstrances. Dean Swift also put forth his powers to counteract these evils, with considerable effect in some cases, and with no slight danger to himself in others, during the party violence of Anne's reign: and again, in the time of George I., he solicited and obtained an interview with sir Robert Walpole for the very purpose of laying before him the grievances of Ireland, which had, as he observed, reduced that country to the most despicable state; the nation being controlled by laws to which her legislature gave no consent, her manufactures interdicted to favor those of England, her trade cramped and ruined by prohibitions, her natives excluded from all places of honor and emolument, while the delegates of government lay under no check but what might arise from their own sense of justice. Walpole however was prepossessed against any statement of Irish affairs that might come from Swift, being strongly influenced by the dean's enemy, the primate Boulter, to whose authority the concerns of Ireland were at that time chiefly committed. The principle of administration adopted by this prelate was, to form and support an English interest in the government of Ireland; a plan which he nearly perfected, but which necessarily could be only temporary. Even in his own time the public mind had begun to exhibit an independent spirit; for five years had not elapsed from his arrival in the country, when a bill was rejected by the house of commons, specifically because it had originated in the privy council. This system gradually declined into that of the 'undertakers,' as it was called. During the long absences of the lord-lieutenants, it had become a custom to confide the government to the principal persons in the church and law, together with the speaker of the house of

[3] Miserable State of Ireland, vol. vii. Scott's edition.

commons: the continued possession of this deputed power established such great interests in the country, that the chief governors found it convenient to surrender almost the entire management of affairs to the Irish leaders, who in return undertook to ensure the unobstructed transaction of public business.

The first who established a great personal interest in the government was Mr. Boyle, afterwards earl of Shannon; and this was materially increased by his appointment to the office of speaker: his influence however was soon checked by the rivalry of the powerful family of Ponsonby, and its peculiar distinction destroyed by a peerage and a pension conferred on him in 1756. The ill consequences of this system of delegated power were sensibly experienced by the British ministry; especially as the advantages of political traffic to the 'undertakers' were such as tempted new adventurers, and created disturbance by competition. The inconveniences of such competition were strongly exhibited in 1751, when primate Stone, who was intimately connected with the duke of Dorset, labored to establish an interest opposed to Mr. Boyle; in consequence of which, that gentleman employed the whole weight of his influence against a measure of government, and threw it out of parliament: government then determined to act with vigor, and dismiss all Mr. Boyle's adherents from office, but soon judged it more expedient to conciliate him by honors and emolument. The primate made overtures of accommodation to his rival, and formed a triumvirate with the new earl of Shannon and Mr. Ponsonby, who was now seated in the chair of the house of commons: this occurred about four years before the reign of George III. Ireland however went on augmenting her internal misery, and adding to the burdens of the state, until the voice of her eloquent and patriotic sons in parliament prevailed against the interested views of English factors and Irish recreants; and she found a monarch, who, being born a Briton, and feeling for the distress of his subjects in whatever quarter it might exist, lent a willing ear to proposals for their relief. Let us now take a rapid sketch of the domestic politics of British sovereigns from the era of the Revolution: this will enable us to enter more fully into the views, and appreciate more justly the motives, which actuated that monarch, whose reign is about to be described.

On the abdication of James II., a new system was introduced into the government of Great Britain: the grand struggle between privilege and prerogative then terminated; the divine

right of kings was overthrown; and ministers of state were no longer set up by the caprice of a monarch, merely to forward his wishes, and to execute his projects: on the contrary, they were obliged to attend to the opinions of parliament, and through it to those of a majority, nay, sometimes even a minority, of the people. To secure the principles of civil and religious liberty, the bill of rights and the act of toleration were passed, by which means the whigs supported themselves during the reign of William, not only against the jacobites, who secretly adhered to the dethroned monarch and his immediate heirs, but against the tories also; who, enslaved as they were by political prejudices, could not reconcile themselves to the idea of breaking altogether the direct line of succession. To the great leaders of the whig party we owe that freedom both in civil and religious affairs which is the glory of the British constitution: they rendered that constitution one of law, not of persons; they laid it down as a rule, that allegiance and protection are relative duties; they defined the meaning of loyalty (which had been so strangely perverted) to consist in a ready obedience paid to the prince in all his commands, according to the laws: finally, they considered that submission was due to government as an ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; but still that government itself was an ordinance of man, acknowleged as such by scripture itself, and therefore rightly subject to constitutional change. Thus the British constitution became, under the hands of these men, a system at once of internal and external freedom; but when they were gone, the whig interest began to totter: still the predilection of Anne for the tories was overruled by the influence of the duchess of Marlborough; until, in 1710, the artful suggestions of another favorite totally alienated the mind of the queen from the whigs; and this for a time brought their opponents into administration, who were willing to assist her majesty in overthrowing the act of settlement, and restoring the old line in the person of her brother the Pretender. Her death however saved the nation from that misfortune and disgrace.

As the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty approached, the two great parties in the state became competitors for the favor of the future sovereign: the overtures of the whigs, who could offer more immediate and effective service, and whose support was felt to be more congenial to the new settlement of the crown, prevailed over those of their opponents. In the reigns of William and Anne, the government had fluctuated between whigs and tories; though William inclined to the former, and

Anne to the latter: but at the accession of George I., this fluctuation ceased: the whigs came into administration, and held undivided sway during the whole of his reign, and seventeen years of his successor's. The inclinations of both these princes naturally turned toward that party by whose influence the settlement in favor of the Hanoverian family had been made; while the majority of the people were kept steady in the same interest by an alarm felt on account of the Pretender, whose efforts to recover his throne were encouraged and assisted by France. Besides, the administration of the great whig minister, Sir Robert Walpole, under whose pacific inclinations and financial wisdom the nation gradually recovered the losses it had sustained in long and frequent wars, materially contributed to keep his party in power; and this power remained until a faction of discontented whigs and pretended patriots, encouraged by prince Frederic, father of George III., obstructed all the measures of the minister, hurried him into war, and effected his downfall: the opposing party was then called into office, but was unable to hold it long against the parliamentary interest of the great whig families. The useful administration of Mr. Pelham, which admitted several moderate tories into its ranks, commenced in 1744, and continued nearly ten years, until his death: the duke of Newcastle, who had been secretary of state under his brother, then took the reins into his own hands, and held them absolutely, until they were wrested from him, in 1757, by William Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, the greatest war-minister this kingdom has ever produced; who, finding his country disgraced and dispirited, raised it by his talents and energy to a height of glory which it had never before reached.

Sir Robert Walpole had been particularly odious to the heir apparent, on account of his opposition to all the measures taken by that prince to increase the miserable income allowed him by his father George II., whose character was sullied by extreme parsimony: hence the efforts of the party of Leicester-house, as it was called, to procure his dismissal: this however they were unable to effect, until he was driven into a war; so great and so general was the interest which that celebrated minister had acquired in parliament by every art of influence and corruption, and which he united to the power of the crown. When the Pelhams came into administration, the system of parliamentary influence was riveted by what was called the borough interest, and the confederacy of its partisans; which gave so much power to the duke of Newcastle,

that he was enabled to dictate terms to his royal master, and to keep him in a state of bondage, as far as regarded ministerial arrangements. The vexations to which prince Frederic had been subjected by the influence of Walpole, and the state of political vassalage to which George II. had been reduced by the ministers who drove his favorite lord Carteret from the helm, naturally had an effect on the youthful mind of prince George; and this was heightened by the manner of his education, as well as by the continual exhortations of his mother, a princess of the house of Saxe-Gotha, who was deeply imbued with all those arbitrary notions of government which distinguished the petty sovereigns of Germany. Her aim seems to have been directed to the acquisition of influence over her son's mind, and of power through that influence: hence it became her policy to remove from about his person every one who did not enter into her views, and second the lesson which she was perpetually repeating to him, in the memorable words—'George, be king.' The treatment therefore which lord Waldegrave receive at Leicester-house induced that confidential friend of George II. to retire from his office of governor, and thus make room for the princess dowager's favorite, lord Bute, who was every way inclined to second her views in the education of her son. It has been said, that at this time, a secret cabinet, which might control the ministers of the crown, was formed under the influence of the princess, who had imbibed the first ideas of such a combination from her late husband. The supposed existence of this unconstitutional confederacy frequently called forth indignant invectives from lord Chatham and other parliamentary orators; but its reality was stoutly denied by many who were taunted as being objects of its mysterious influence, as well as by lord Bute himself, who was thought to be one of its most active members. The probable solution of this political problem is, that during the lifetime of the princess, her maternal authority was strongly exercised over the councils and conduct of the king; their back-stairs' messenger, or private agent, being Mr. Jenkinson, private secretary to lord Bute, and afterwards created earl of Liverpool. At all events, George III. was fully prepared, both by precept and by natural disposition, not only to demand the free, unfettered choice of his public servants, but to exercise personally a stronger power than was always thought consistent with ministerial responsibility. This was a leading feature in his character, and one which influenced his domestic and political conduct throughout his reign.

On his accession to the throne, his object was to put an end to the war, and with it to the domination of those who would have counteracted his designs; to release himself, for a time at least, from German politics and continental alliances, which had always excited a clamor among the people of England; and then, having broken that chain with which the great whig confederacy had fettered his predecessor, to throw open the administration to men of all parties, especially those whose principles led them to support the royal prerogative. This scheme it was easier to project than to execute: the Pelham party, even after losing much of its popularity, was still very powerful, having possessed for many years, without interruption, the distribution of all preferment under the crown; while the duke of Newcastle, in his arrangements with lord Chatham, had contrived to retain in his own hands that fertile source of influence and power: this party therefore, with the duke at its head, would naturally resist all attempts made to dispossess them of their places; and when their parliamentary interest was backed by the splendid talents of Pitt, and the great knowlege of business, foreign and domestic, which was possessed by many other members of the cabinet, it must be confessed that they were a formidable phalanx. Besides, the instrument employed by the new sovereign to effect his purpose was unfortunately chosen; the earl of Bute being very unequal to the task: he was accordingly dismissed; and a succession of ministerial arrangements ensued, which appeared like a system of experiments, to show how far the method of secret advisers with ostensible ministers could extend the regal prerogative, in defiance of the remonstrances of the people: hence the government became vacillating and weak, passing through the hands of all parties, until it centred in a disgraceful coalition of the most violent antagonists: then it was that a strong hand was found to take the reins, and to rescue his country from the strife of factions, the confusion of political errors, and the reproach of foreign nations. Whatever may have been the motives of the second William Pitt when he consented to engage in the French war, or whatever his merits in the conduct of it, most persons, who have read history with a candid and attentive mind, will confess that his was a brilliant entrance into public life; and that the measures both of his internal and external policy, during the first nine years of his administration, bore signal marks of liberality and wisdom. Whatever too may be thought of the king's desire of personal power, of that inflexibility of temper which often dege-

nerated into obstinacy, or of that aversion to individuals which sometimes appeared like a spirit of revenge; in one point of view his accession to the throne was of inestimable advantage to the country. It cannot be denied that vice and profligacy had at that time advanced to a great height; whilst immorality, divested of refinement, had been encouraged by the example of his immediate predecessors, and those by whom they were surrounded: besides, in the early part of this century the great truths of revelation had been attacked with fiercer and more powerful weapons than had been hitherto used in such unhallowed warfare. Toland, Collins, and others of that school, had brought the doctrines of christian faith to the bar of human reason, and by a perverted judgment spread the principles of scepticism and infidelity among the more educated classes: and when we find it remarked by lord Orford, that there were no religious combustibles in the temper of that age, we are led by this observation to form melancholy conclusions regarding the vitality of its principles: but the sober yet earnest piety of George III., and his exact fulfilment of moral duties, afforded an example to his subjects, which could not fail to produce an effect on the national character: the court, instead of being, as is too often the case, repulsive to virtue, became, under the auspices of the king and his virtuous consort, a centre of attraction to those principles, which preserved our upper ranks from the contagion of foreign profligacy; rendering them a support to royalty and a blessing to the people. George III. boasted that he was born a Briton; and his country had reason to boast that it had a christian prince on the throne.

We will now resume our brief description of the European States-system, up to the present times; reserving its more minute details to be engrafted into the main body of this work.

That fierce conflict of nations 'the seven years' war,' still continued to agitate Europe; whose political relations however remained unchanged, until Russia withdrew from the contest, which extended itself into Spain and Portugal, through the influence of the Family Compact. Before its complete termination, the alliance between England and Prussia was shaken by the withdrawal of British subsidies; but England had gained her principal object, by annihilating the navy, and conquering almost every colony of France; whose proposals for peace were seconded by the general desire for that blessing now expressed by the British nation: preliminaries therefore,

which were concluded at Fontainbleau, November 3, 1762, between England on the one side, and France and Spain on the other, led to a separate peace next year, without any stipulation, except French neutrality, in favor of Frederic, who became thenceforth the bitterest enemy of his former benefactors. The peace of Hubertsburg, so glorious to Prussia, reconciled that nation with Austria and Saxony, the Germanic empire having previously declared itself neutral; and as a mutual renunciation of territorial claims took place, the European system still remained unaltered.

Austria and Prussia now ranked as the two first continental powers; for neither distant and semi-barbarous Russia, nor exhausted France, could enter into competition with them; much less could Spain, which was fast verging toward that extreme degradation into which she has since fallen.

The dissolution of ties which had so firmly united England and Prussia, left to the former very little influence in the European confederacy; where she had but two allies, in the small states of Portugal and Holland; (which latter country was jealous of her maritime superiority) while Russia was only connected with her by a commercial treaty. However, after the prostration of her great rival, she had no immediate cause for seeking new connexions, nor did any such exigency soon arise: she therefore confined her attention to domestic affairs, and to the cultivation of her colonial and commercial resources, leaving Austria and Russia unmolested in their designs against the Porte; and viewing almost with unconcern the shameful partition of Poland. That lust for aggrandisement and compactness of territory, which arose principally from the scattered states of Prussia, now found such stimulants in the wants and internal administration of European kingdoms, that it soon became a ruling principle of policy; hence potentates themselves set an example, if they did not afford a justification, to the great plunderer who afterwards spoiled the despoilers. This bad principle acted very injuriously on the whole federative system; for it soon came to be applied to the German empire on which the preservation of that system mainly depended; and whose disjointed realms offered great facilities and excitement to plunderers. This soon appeared in the attempts made by the emperor Joseph to annex the Bavarian electorate to his dominions, at a period which appeared most favorable to his views—when France, connected with Austria by the marriage of Marie-Antoinette, had plunged into a naval war in the cause of American independence—when

Russia was seeking her own aggrandisement at the expense of Turkey—and when England, engaged in a desperate contest with her colonies, left Prussia alone and unaided, to ward off destruction from the Germanic constitution. Frederic then exhibited a striking instance of disinterested policy, rising above the spirit of the age, when he resisted this opportunity of enlarging and strengthening his own dominions, rather than the confederative system,—for which he took up arms. The war which ensued closed without bloodshed; since Maria Theresa, anxious for repose in her old age, as well as for the welfare of her son, and Frederic himself, unwilling to tempt fortune again, yielded to the mediation of France and Russia; which latter power, having finished her war with Turkey, threatened to become more than a mediator: so the peace of Teschen was concluded, May 13, 1779; but not without Joseph's retaining a portion of his booty in Lower Bavaria. This peace put a stop to hostilities, but not to irritation; for the acquisition of Bavaria still remained a favorite project in the Austrian cabinet; and when the death of his mother left Joseph free to act, he exhibited a reckless desire of aggrandisement, which the state of Western Europe was well calculated to facilitate. He now endeavoured to effect his scheme by exchange; proposing to give up a large portion of the Austrian Netherlands, with some limitations, for Bavaria and the Lower Palatinate; having for this purpose gained over the Elector, and Russia; while France appeared indifferent to the event. Frederic, on the brink of the grave, thus saw his system again endangered: but though he did not at this time unsheath the sword, he clearly and loudly proclaimed to confederated Europe, how important to its States-system was the preservation of the Germanic constitution; which, before his death, he had the satisfaction of seeing made the basis of that system.

But if continental despots were reproached for their lust of aggrandisement, and leagues instituted for territorial plunder, they retorted the charge upon England as using her naval superiority for the oppression of other nations, and invasion of their commercial rights. This accusation had reference to her assumption of a maritime code of law; and the great question which came into dispute, and remains still undecided, was the right of neutrals to carry on the colonial trade of a belligerent power, under its own flag, and on its own account. It arose from a permission granted by France, in 1756, for neutrals to trade with her colonies, when she herself was deprived of the power of doing so. The English denying the legality of this

trade, captured and confiscated vessels engaged in it; allowing only the usual commerce permitted in times of peace to be carried on. This assumed right, producing no important consequences at the time, fell of itself at the return of peace: but the rule of 1756 became a rule for the future, unless when it was thought fit to relax it. Every naval war, however, renewed and enlarged the dispute; more especially that which now approached, when England entered into a contest with her transatlatic colonies.

The origin and progress of this important contest will be so fully detained in the ensuing history, that we need not here dwell upon them: but we may observe, that its proximate cause was the notion entertained by Great Britain, respecting her right of direct taxation, involved in that of sovereignty, and unconnected with representative privileges. Resistance to her claims gradually and almost insensibly ripened into rebellion: though many latent causes hastened on that separation from the mother country, which seems to follow the advancement of a colony, as much as migration from the parental hearth ensues from the matured age and strength of a child. How much would proper ideas of this inevitable separation conduce, not only to lenient and just government during the connexion, but to kindly intercourse, mutual sympathy, and common interests, when that connexion is dissolved!

When resistance had brought Great Britain to the alternative of concession or war, she was urged, (as one of our best constitutional writers has observed,[4]) into the fatal contest, principally by five causes. 'The first of these was an ignorance of, or inattention to, the great leading principles of political economy. The second, a high overweening national pride. The third, a mean and unworthy money selfishness. The fourth, high principles of government. The fifth, a certain vulgarity of thinking on political subjects.' These causes are developed and illustrated by the author with singular skill and elegance: but we can advert to them no farther than to congratulate our country on the advance she has made in good principles and good policy since they were so judiciously penned.

The war, hastily begun by the colonists in a fruitless attack on Canada, necessarily became a defensive one, giving full scope to the great and noble qualities of the American Fabius: increasing animosity increased their determination to obtain independence; and its declaration by congress, July 4, 1776, together with the capture of Burgoyne's army, offered a pretext

[4] See Professor Smyth's Lectures on History, vol. ii. p. 379.

to the court of Versailles for entering into the contest by acknowleging that independence. The war naturally took a maritime turn, and spread to both Indies; giving to Frederic of Prussia full scope for the exercise of his long-cherished hatred and revenge against Great Britain, by instigating Russia and other states to profit by her embarrassment, and revive the question of maritime rights: hence arose that celebrated confederacy, called 'The Armed Neutrality;' between the northern states, joined with Austria and Prussia, and drawing Holland and Spain also into the contest. To oppose the increasing hostility of these powers, and to prevent their confederacy, our ministry dispatched to St. Petersburg Mr. James Harris,—afterwards created earl of Malmsbury for his supposed diplomatic skill and services,—British envoy at the court of Berlin; a young man who had been sent fresh from the undisciplined university of Oxford, to watch the motions and to counteract the projects of the wily Frederic: by what means, and with what success, may be seen in his published correspondence. The manner in which he was cajoled by the still more wily Catherine, and the methods by which he himself cajoled our ministers at home, form one of the most ridiculous episodes in the English history. What indeed had diplomacy, and the great art on which it then depended, the art of bribery, to do in this case? The presence of a well-appointed fleet in the northern seas would have settled the matter sooner than a whole host of negotiators.

The war, which thus involved the dominion of the ocean, was prosecuted by France with more success than had hitherto attended her naval efforts, until Great Britain, always negligent in the commencement of a contest, became sufficiently irritated by disasters and disgrace to draw out her resources and to exert her energies. Then was her maritime superiority nobly vindicated by the gallant Rodney; especially in his grand action off Guadaloupe, April 12, 1782. The fate of America, however, was to be decided, not on the ocean, but on the land; where the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, October 19, 1781, extinguished every hope of success for the mother country; and nothing was requisite for the return of peace but the retirement of lord North from office; the obstinacy of the king being forced to give way before the altered sentiments of his parliament: accordingly on March 20, 1782, the premier resigned his seat in the cabinet, war ceased in Europe, and American independence was recognised by all nations.

Here we may pause briefly to consider the nature of this

vast republic, whose foundation beyond the Atlantic waves forms one of the most remarkable epochs in the world's history,—a republic unrivalled in extent and natural advantages,—a state of Europeans, not belonging to the European system; yet impelled, no less by inclination than by circumstances, to take a part in European policy; while it throws open its arms to all deserters of ancient establishments, whatever their country, fortunes, or opinions may be; a state apparently destined, for a time at least, to be the great disturbing force of Europe, if not of the world; and so potent for mischief, that it becomes a question whether it would not be sound policy for all European states to combine for the purpose of curbing its encroachments and counteracting its designs.

'This new republic,' says Heeren, (vol. ii. p. 98,) 'established without any internal revolution of the single states, (only trifling changes being necessary) languished at first under its liberty. Its first constitution was a federative government, without strength and without credit: but the changed constitution of 1789 gave it all the solidity that a federative state can possess; placing the executive power in the hands of a president, in connection with the senate; and the legislative, (conformably in most respects to British forms) in the two chambers, the senate, and the house of representatives; not however without the participation of the president. Public credit too was established by a system of finances for the union. To Washington the *president*, this new state was not less indebted than to Washington the *general*. Only by committing the high offices of state to great men can this union be preserved.'

The latter part of this sentence is undoubtedly true: but how can great men be found for office, how can any honest and consistent course of policy be pursued, how can public faith and peace be kept with other nations, when he who would obtain the presidential chair must pander to the passions and desires of a democratic mass; and when the representatives of the people can only expect to retain their places by a similar mode of conduct? The grand fault in the American constitution was the little power given to the general or federal government over the provincial legislatures; and this has been clearly shown in all transactions consequent on the late disturbances in Canada.

The greatest stain upon the American character was the establishment, in a community of men who had vindicated

their own freedom, the vilest system of slavery which ever cursed a country calling itself christian. The evils to which such violations of political and moral principles may lead are not to be calculated—those to which they have already led, serve to mark the government of the North American union, as a beacon to be avoided, rather than as a pattern for imitation; and if there be any thing which sullies the renown of Washington, it is the sanction of his great name given to the democratic principle of that government.[5]

Commerce naturally felt the first influence of this new republic, with which every maritime power was eager to form treaties: but, being destitute of capital, she engaged in trade most readily with those which could give the longest credit; and this led her to stifle that resentment against Great Britain which time has scarcely moderated: hence the commerce with her deserted parent became more extensive and unrestricted; while England soon discovered that she might well have spared the sacrifice of so much blood and treasure, spent worse than in vain.

But though Great Britain lost her ancient colonies in North America, she retained her later acquisitions in Canada and Nova Scotia, which thus became more valuable and important; while her possessions in the West Indies had increased by cessions made at the treaty of Paris, and the prosperity of these colonies had been advanced by the grant of several commercial privileges. Her African colonies had improved through the possession of Senegal, which gave her the gum and slave trade; but the independence of America gave rise to a colony of free negroes at Sierra Leone, on the very coast of Africa itself—an experiment interesting to humanity, as intending to prove that slavery may be dispensed with. It seems hopeless however to expect that slavery will be dispensed with, until the pretended friends of liberty in America shall discontinue the practice of breeding slaves; or that the slave-trade will cease, until such governments as those of Spain, Portugal, Mexico and Brazil, calling themselves christian, shall cultivate the spirit of christianity: perhaps, after all, the only method of abolishing this vile traffic must be looked for in the extension of civilization and christianity on the great continent of Africa.

[5] What other but a democratic government could have sanctioned a law inflicting the punishment of *death* on the person who should assist a slave to escape from the power of a master, however brutal and cruel?

But the grandest theatre of the colonial policy of Great Britain, during this period, was in the East Indies; where her merchant princes, founding an empire, larger in extent and population than the mother country, opened a mart for the exchange of merchandize, which rendered the latter almost independent of the world. Good order, however, with its consequent prosperity, was not soon or easily established. Inordinate expectations of immense wealth, without proper means used to obtain it, ended in disappointment; clashing interests arose between the directors in England and their agents in India, which country had to endure the evils of a corrupt administration and oppressive monopolies; until the weakness of government, thence ensuing, encouraged the attacks of Hyder Ali, which were with great difficulty repressed: but these evils also gave rise to a new act of legislation; the Indian government being consolidated and reduced to a stricter dependence on the crown. Although affairs were brought under this control, the interests of the company were consulted far more than those of the natives; oppression, under the sway of the arbitrary and politic Hastings, became reduced to a system; resistance gave rise to war; war was attended by conquest, until conquest itself became necessary for British supremacy. Notwithstanding the fortunate issue of the Mahratta contest in May 1782, with other successes, and a large extension of territory through the capture of Nagapatam, it became evident that the company could not long remain as then constituted: by no exactions could it fulfil its engagements; its affairs were considered to be on the brink of bankruptcy; and the necessity of a closer dependence, except in commercial matters, upon the British government, became evident to all parties. Fox attempted to effect this object, but in vain: it was however attained, in 1784, by Pitt's bill; which is the basis of the present government in India. For carrying out practically this salutary measure, and for ameliorating in many respects the condition of the natives, much credit is due to lord Cornwallis, though the seeds of corruption had taken root too deeply to be intirely eradicated.

This extraordinary extension of colonisation caused a proportional increase in British navigation. The voyages of captain Cook awakened a spirit of discovery almost rivalling that to which the enterprises of Columbus gave rise: the islands of the South Pacific Ocean became nearly as well known as those of the Mediterranean Sea; and from Cook emanated ideas of settlement on the continent of New Holland, which promises

to afford an ample return to the fostering care of the mother country.

The colonial history of France, in this period, is almost included in that of Great Britain: the rivalry of the two countries continued, but always to the disadvantage of the latter: her colonial prosperity in the East, established by Dupleix, fell by the preponderance of British influence; her India company was abolished, the trade being left open, with some slight restrictions; and she only retained her position by the isles of France and Bourbon, which could not yet be wrested from her.

In the western ocean she was less unfortunate; for although losses of territory occurred there also, yet the island of St. Domingo, the Spanish portion of which she had acquired by an exchange for Louisiana and West Florida, being favored by a fertile soil and escaping the evils of war, florished to such an extent as to supply the markets of the mother country.

With regard to the colonial system of the Dutch, this was the period of its deep decline, resulting from their inhuman massacres, their vile treatment of the natives, their bad regulations respecting navigation, and the loss of the Indian coasting trade. The secret maladies which affected their external commerce, were brought to a crisis by an unexpected war with Great Britain; and if the wounds inflicted by that war had not been incurable, they would probably have become so by the domestic convulsions which soon followed: for without protecting navies, colonies can scarcely exist.

Those of Spain suffered less than others in the contest of nations; for her islands were less easy of attack, and her continental possessions were rendered secure by their very size: though their regular trade with the mother country was interrupted, the contraband increased; whilst internal tranquillity and prosperity were but little affected. New commercial regulations, made after Spain was liberated from the assiento treaty at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, knocked off many old fetters from her commerce; and the trade of her colonies with the mother country, but more especially with each other, was arranged on more liberal principles. The changes in the colonial affairs of Portugal arose partly from her quarrels with Spain; but more from the peculiar administration of Pombal. Her colonial system and policy became more concentrated in Brazil: for her possessions in Asia and Africa were, with the single exception of Madeira, daily decreasing in importance.

The northern states continued to take a part in colonies and

colonial trade. The possessions of Denmark in the West Indies remained unaltered: but their cultivation advanced, and their ports often became very important during the contest of other nations. In 1764 her West India company was dissolved, and the trade thrown open. In the East she kept possession of Tranquebar; and her East India company, whose charter had been renewed in 1772, carried on a prosperous commerce with China. Sweden also, by her company, traded advantageously with that country and with India: having also obtained a footing in the West Indies, by procuring the island of St. Bartholomew from France. Even distant Russia not only participated in the Chinese trade, by means of caravans; but after the discovery of Kurili and the Aleutian islands, passed thence to settlements on the coast of North America, establishing there a colony, principally for trade in peltry. Thus did European dominion extend itself over half of Asia, and nearly all America, as well as the coasts of Africa and Australia: a dominion, attempted from a lust of gain, but acquired and maintained by intellectual superiority: so widely have the seeds of intelligence been scattered on various soils: the result is in the hands of Providence.

Northern Portion of the European States-system.—The North of Europe stood, during this period, after the aggrandisement of Russia, in a closer connexion with the west: but, except in the 'seven years' war,' its influence chiefly took a diplomatic cast. Before the reign of Catherine, no prominent character appears on the throne, in the cabinet or in the field. Personal interests and passions, frequently of the most detestable kind, decided both the foreign and domestic policy of the states. While the leading empire was vegetating under an indolent but cruel despotism, anarchy became organized in the two bordering monarchies of Sweden and Poland.

A new epoch, not only for Russia, but for the north in general, commenced with the accession of Catherine: who, by her separate peace with Prussia, which dissolved the Austrian alliance, acquired free scope for action. Her diplomacy soon encircled all Europe, though she confined her sphere of action to contiguous nations, which were in a state of anarchy or exhaustion. After entertaining and discarding the plan of a great northern confederacy, of which Russia was to be the head, she ultimately fixed on Poland as the field of her exertions; which country, by its unsettled state, seemed to invite her interference; she needed nothing there but a continuance of the existing anarchy; in the midst of which the

death of Augustus III. took place, and her intrigues for giving a king to Poland were successful in the elevation of her former favorite, Stanislaus Poniatowsky. This scheme was effected in defiance of France, Turkey, Austria, and Prussia; which latter power signed a treaty of alliance with Russia, April 11, 1764; the conditions of which were a mutual defence and guarantee of all European possessions; the preservation of the constitution of Poland being the subject of a secret article.

Frederic now wanted nothing but a pretext for acquiring permanent dominion in Poland for himself; and this was soon discovered in the case of the *Dissidents;* by the protection of whom he secured a party, and at the same time acquired a reputation for tolerance. Then followed the confederacy for perpetuating the evils which afflicted that unhappy country, under the guarantee of Russia; also a fierce war, carried on against the Porte, whose jealousy demanded the evacuation of Poland; of which contest Austria and Prussia were quiet spectators, whilst a desolating pestilence ravaged Moscow, and the insurrection of Pugatschef shook the empire of the czars. But in Sweden and Poland two contemporary revolutions were going on; the former in opposition to, the latter in accordance with, the wishes of the empress. The Swedish revolution, excited by Gustavus III., preserved the independence of that kingdom; which, unlike unhappy Poland, still possessed a class of free citizens and peasants on whom its salvation rested: the restoration of the regal power was viewed with different feelings by different powers, but with great dissatisfaction by Catherine, as counteracting her designs: but she had sufficient command over herself to restrain her anger.

The fate of Poland, however, unexpectedly drew nigh. The activity of the confederacy of Bar had not been relaxed during the Turkish war; but had declared the throne vacant, and dared to remove the king from his residence: but the Porte had enough to do for itself; and the increasing preponderance of Russia began to alarm Austria; so that an extension of the war seemed inevitable, when a visit of Prince Henry of Prussia to Petersburg brought out a project for re-establishing peace, at the expense of Poland. This calmly concerted robbery, the fruit of that aggrandising policy which has been already adverted to, needs no comment. After various negotiations, the first partition treaty between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, was promulgated, August 5, 1772; in which the three spoliators, after having extorted by force the consent of the diet at Warsaw, guaranteed to each other the spoil which they had

seized, and to Poland the territory which still remained to that wretched nation. Yet Catherine was unwilling to relinquish or to divide her authority in this remnant; and by her machinations she secured it for herself.

Such were the intrigues which now threatened the political system of Europe; whose own potentates had begun its subversion! Politicians, indeed, and amongst them the unprincipled Frederic, pretended that the balance of power in the north would be upheld by the nearly equal division which had been made of the spoil; as if this balance was to be sought in the material power of states, rather than in the strict rules of international law! What dismemberment could be called illegal, if this were deemed lawful? and what state could be more interested in reserving the law of nations than Prussia, whose scattered parts, obtained chiefly by conquests, were held together by compacts and treaties?

This partition, connected with a successful campaign under Romanzoff, facilitated a compromise and treaty of peace, without any foreign mediation, between Russia and the Porte; by which the former acquired a right of interference in the affairs of Moldavia and Wallachia; also of freely navigating the Black Sea; with other privileges, as well as the possession of Asoph and several districts in the Crimea: hence the establishment of an order of things which seemed merely a transition to further convulsions, encroachments, and spoliation. The alliance of Russia with Prussia continued in form: after the Swedish Revolution, a secret alliance had been made with Denmark: the ascendency of Russia in Poland was confirmed: her relations with Sweden were doubtful: those with the Porte extremely complicated. But what was the increase of physical strength compared with the moral power obtained by Russia? and what was wanting to Catherine, after these trials of strength, but the internal orginization of her vast empire, in order to wield its power with success? To this therefore she directed her attention; and from it a new and daring project, instigated by the favorite Potemkin, did not divert her.

To raise a Greek empire on the ruins of the Ottoman power now became the grand object of Russian policy; an object which seemed to be facilitated by the last war, and still more by the peace which followed. Its difficulties were foreseen; but they only invested it with charms in the eyes of Catherine; who saw in the characters of contemporary monarchs, a prospect of removing all obstacles by a partition treaty, like that which dismembered Poland. When a second war broke out

with Turkey, ten years afterwards, these difficulties became fully disclosed: nevertheless the object still remained fixed in the councils of Russia, whose designs against Sweden were thus diverted into another channel. The Prussian alliance now lost its importance; as the purpose of it was gained, and it could afford no assistance against the Turks: for that end the acquiescence of Great Britain as well as the aid of Austria was required; and to gain over both these powers was the grand aim of Potemkin: the connection with Great Britain was nearly concluded, when Count Panin, by his project of the armed neutrality, averted a measure which would at once have rendered himself and the Prussia alliance unnecessary. This new stroke of policy diverted the attention of Catherine from her Greek project; though Potemkin, who had nothing to gain from the armed neutrality, never lost sight of it.

The dominion of the Black Sea, which implied that of the Crimea and its contiguous countries, entered strongly into the leading policy of the Russian cabinet. This was soon effected, and the grand object of Catherine's ambition seemed to be on the very point of accomplishment; but the building of fleets required time, while intervening events in Western Europe, the Bavarian war of succession, the league of the princes, &c. precluded all precipitate measures. The political relations of the Northern states seemed generally to disappoint calculation; and though personal conferences of the sovereigns took place, the results could scarcely be predicted. Two important meetings of this kind occurred between Catherine and the emperor Joseph, one at Mohilow, and the other at Petersburg in 1780; when their subsequent alliance against the Porte was concerted, together with Joseph's scheme for the exchange of Bavaria: the Prussian alliance was thus weakened, while that with Austria was renewed, and Russian policy took a more fixed aim and direction. If the armed neutrality kept England aloof, the other leading states were propitiated by advantageous treaties of commerce. Potemkin's political influence now attained to its zenith; the consequence of which was the above-mentioned subjugation of the Crimea, over which he was appointed governor, with an immense army at his disposal, and an authority which no other subject in Europe possessed. To complete his triumph Catherine herself in 1787 visited him in Taurida, where she was met by the emperor Joseph, and the alliance was consummated. Though the conditions of this alliance remained secret, the consequences soon disclosed its reality. Whether a war against Turkey was actually concerted may be

doubtful; but all preparations were made: while Potemkin, by his diplomatic skill, excited the Divan, notwithstanding its apparent apathy, to be the first to declare it. 'Thus,' says Heeren, 'a storm was prepared against the Porte which seemed to forebode its overthrow; but never were the calculations of human foresight more signally disappointed. Many who imagined themselves strong, lay in the dust: and the state devoted to destruction rose in pride over the ruins of Europe.'

To the disgrace of Europe that state still exists, to insult christianity and oppose its progress, while it sows the seeds of moral and political disorder over all the unfortunate realms submitted to its detestable sway. Imagination can scarcely conceive the frightful condition of countries under the government of Turkish pashas, ignorant, rapacious, brutal; given up to the basest passions, thirsting for riches and blood; men generally raised by caprice from the lowest ranks, and therefore the more bigoted and cruel! Yet such a power still exists, supported by the rivalry, dissentions, and tortuous policy of christian states. Lately the friends of humanity saw a light gleaming out of this moral darkness, when the ruler of Egypt was advancing with his armies against Constantinople: but it did not suit those states to allow an Albanian chieftain to occupy the throne of Mahomet II.; though he might have been obliged to give a bond, under a guarantee, for good government; so he was driven back: neither did it suit their views that he should retain his sway over Syria; so the Quadruple Alliance, at a vast expense, drove him thence, and restored the province to anarchy and bloodshed; disbanding their troops and dismissing their fleets, without any pledge taken for good government. Had they only demanded Acre, or Beyroot, or any other strong place on the coast, to be held under a guarantee of the four powers, so small a return for services could not have been refused: and what an asylum might that have been made for persecuted individuals! what an opening for the dissemination of christianity, and protection of christians. The opportunity is now passed—when it may return, is known to Him alone to whom prayers are addressed for enlightening the minds and ruling the hearts of statesmen and princes.

Third Period: from the death of Frederic the Great and commencement of the Revolutionary age, to the overthrow of the Napoleon dynasty, and restoration of the political system of Europe. 1786—1820.

The death of Frederic was soon followed by those great national convulsions, which impressed a peculiar character on the ensuing period; called by some the *Revolutionary*, and by others the *Constitutional* period, since the struggle for regular but free constitutions is the thread which guides us through its labyrinth. To what this struggle will lead is not even yet clear: but its most desirable result would be a diversity of constitutions, adapted to the characters and wants of different people: for who will say that the same is suitable for all?

Every attempt previously made to subvert the European states-system had failed: at the death of Frederic, the structure still stood erect; and the danger, if any existed, seemed to be in the east rather than in the west. The time was coming when it was to experience severer storms—to fall—and again to rise from its ruins. The question—what was the cause of these convulsions? may be thus briefly answered. The constitutions of most European states had outlived themselves. That of Spain, since its Cortes had ceased to assemble, rested on papacy and the Inquisition—that of France, since the disappearance of its states-general, was an autocracy; but at war within itself, and involved in a long contest with the parliament—that of the Netherlandic republic, always misshapen, and now without support, was torn by factions—the Germanic empire, laboring under its tardy forms, was scarcely able to move—that of Prussia was an artificial administration, now deprived of its main-spring—that of Austria was plunged into a reform, which proved eminently unsuccessful—while Poland and the Porte were in a state of acknowleged anarchy. The efforts of rulers to obtain unlimited power had overthrown all vestiges of freedom in the continental states; whose assemblies had vanished, or were reduced to mere forms, having nowhere been remodelled into a true national representation. 'But the idea of it,' says Heeren, (vol. ii. p. 159,) 'not only lived in theory, disseminated and fostered by the first writers of the day, but was seen permanently realised in a neighbouring happy island state; it could not, therefore, pass away from practical politics; and was necessarily, during the storms of the following period, the polar star which was ever kept in view in all aberrations of the times.'

Nor were the relations of different classes toward each other less altered than those of rulers toward their subjects. The highest everywhere failed to fulfil the obligations imposed upon them by their rank and privileges: and were, therefore, in all convulsions exposed to more threats and dangers even than

rulers and princes. With regard to the strength of states, no other criterion was known but that of standing armies, which drew a line gradually between themselves and the people; they alone were armed; the citizens were defenceless: thus on the event of one battle the fate of nations might depend. As to pecuniary means, not a single continental state could carry on war to any length from its own resources: subsidies, or continued extortions, were the only means pursued: and thus the system, carried out too far, brought with it its own punishment.

But if all political supports were thus shattered and weak, the moral were no less so. That corner-stone of every system, the sanctity of legitimate possession, had disappeared: politics had thrown off their veil in Poland; and the lust of aggrandisement prevailed. The unhappy error, encouraged by political writers, which places the strength of a nation in its magnitude, and revenue, and physical powers, had taken deep root; while selfish egotism became a prevailing principle of public, as well as of private life,—and this in a system of states, so unequal as those of Europe, which hitherto had been upheld by alliances formed against preponderating powers: but alliances attended with sacrifices were now generally rejected by all cabinets.

Nor only had new maxims become prevalent in the morals of government: new opinions also were diffused among the people opposed to the existing order of things: which, like all human institutions, rests ultimately on opinion. Sophistical arguments in favor of popular sovereignty, circulated by political writers, received an apparent confirmation by the independence of North America; democratic ideas were thus fostered in the monarchical system—ready materials for combustion, whenever a spark might fall upon them. Other authors had taken pains to undermine religion; so that scarcely any thing remained sacred to the popular mind; among whom light and frivolous amusements had taken the place of rational pleasures and improving studies; while the public press became an instrument of extensive evil, which was increased by clubs and secret societies.

Threatening as were these appearances, no one had any presentiment of the approaching catastrophe: but in this consisted the danger, that everything was calculated for the usual state, while everything was thrown out of its course, ready to fall as soon as any unusual combination of circumstances occurred. The following period naturally arranges itself in three divisions, between which the peace of Campo

Formio, (which by bringing the north into close contact with the west, formed the European states into one political system,) the establishment of the imperial throne of France, and its overthrow, constitute the points of separation.

Third Period: from 1786 to the peace of Campo Formio, 1797. Part the first. Southern European States-system.

Diversified in their origin as were the internal disturbances of states in this period, there was always manifested a struggle for more liberal constitutions. Though the death of Frederic, occurring when affairs were tranquil, produced no perceptible changes, (for his successor retained his ministers,) yet the chasm which he left was too great to be devoid of consequences: he had formed and matured the principal relations of the European states; but he had never formed a minister competent to control them, and the character of his successor was of a cast different from his own.

The first deviation of that successor from Frederic's policy was an active participation in the Dutch disturbances—the primary link in that chain of revolutions which were impending over Europe; disturbances fomented by England and France, allayed by Frederic, but now made a family affair; when the patriots, forsaken by France, were overpowered, and the Stadtholder was reinstated in his old, and invested with new rights—to an extent, and with a severity, totally incompatible with the existence of a republic, and of an opposite party. The constitution was to be guaranteed by strangers: hence a triple alliance with Prussia and England; the effects of which, by re-establishing British influence on the continent, were felt afterwards over Europe, and especially over the north.

In the mean time a similar spirit of turbulence began to rage in the Austrian Netherlands, aroused by the innovating disposition of Joseph, and strengthened by his inconsistency: but this, after Leopold's accession, was allayed by the ratification of ancient privileges at the congress of Reichenbach. Revolutionary efforts in several small states, such as Liege, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Geneva, showed the democratic temper of the times: but how trifling were all such attempts to disturb existing institutions, compared with that eruption whose throes were beginning to be felt in the leading states of western Europe!

In France the prevailing spirit of the age appeared in a convocation of the states-general; a result of financial necessities, but an innovation on the existing constitution; a measure from which its favorers could not but entertain, from what

immediately occurred, well-grounded apprehensions for the issue. It did not confine itself to reform, but attempted novelties, to be secured by means of a large popular assembly, independent of the crown, and acted on by theories of self-styled philosophers, who recommended the greatest possible separation of the executive and legislative powers. The new order of things was at once established, May 5, 1789; when the third estate declared itself a national assembly, and the abolition of feudal rights immediately followed.

The reaction of this grand catastrophe on the rest of Europe could at first only be moral, not political: but its moral influence soon became most alarming by inflaming the lower against the higher classes; especially as it was augmented by writers whom few had the courage to oppose. England, however, owes much to the vigorous energy of her illustrious Burke: yet the writings of him and some others, though useful in their time, become much less so, if not actually mischievous to posterity; because they are too partial, and do not sufficiently indicate the sources of general discontent, or the moral and physical condition of the people. Hence the reader is unable to account for many things which are assignable to definite causes; for instance, the indiscriminate and deadly animosity of the lower orders is not sufficiently traced to their hatred of the exactions, exemptions, and feudal rights of the privileged classes: the faults of the people are more insisted on than those of their rulers: but as the lesson inculcated is intended for them, no evil should be extenuated: it is dangerous to exhibit a nation maddened to commit horrible atrocities with inadequate motives; and the suppression of truth is impolitic and unwise; for it defeats its own object.

A political structure like that of France could not be overturned at once without affecting others. The first change occurred in the Germanic empire, by the abolition of feudal rights. The reception of numerous emigrants, bringing with them their prejudices, hopes, and passions, all aiming to restore the ancient order of things, by the intervention of foreign powers, soon became opposed to the tranquillity of Europe. The new constitution accepted by Louis XVI. seemed to remove the danger of war; but the transition from partial, to what was called perfect freedom, among so passionate and excited a nation became inevitable: and how could this take place without violent convulsions? After the first conflict of factions, when the Jacobins acquired a predominating influence in the second national convention, and to subvert the throne

became their grand object, a foreign war was felt necessary for effecting it. Austria was their nearest aim: and Louis was compelled to declare war against that power.

The fearful scenes in France were so novel, and so little were foreign cabinets able to estimate the power of a great popular faction, that the advantage lay decidedly with the democratic party, to whom it was only necessary to spread the flame; and this was soon done after the unsuccessful expedition to Champagne in July 1792, when the connection of Austria and Prussia gave the first sign of a change in political relations. The volcano then burst forth: the head of Louis, a weak and insincere prince, fell under the axe of the guillotine: France was declared a republic; Belgium was conquered, and possession taken of Savoy and Nice, which were immediately incorporated with France, against which state a great European confederacy was formed. Coalitions, however, have rarely been successful, or of long continuance; and this was not to be an exception to the rule. How could success be expected from the selfish policy of states, all aiming at aggrandisement from friends or foes? What opposition could their dull leaders offer to those energetic characters in the revolutionary armies, who now forced themselves into notice?

But financial difficulties are among the greatest obstacles to success where vast bodies are to be put in motion: the removal, therefore, of these was an object of primary importance; and England, as the great subsidising power, became the connecting link of all, and acquired the chief direction of the war. As the founder and head of subsequent coalitions against France, her minister Pitt will live in history: but though great in character and talent, as well as correct in his estimate of danger, he was often faulty in his choice of means and persons; nor was he always thought able or willing to take that elevated view of things which would have placed the general interests of Europe above those of Great Britain.[6]

Under such auspices began the first coalition; but not until war had been declared by France against England, who refused to recognise her republican government, and against the Stadtholder as the ally of England; which latter power became a central point in the system by the formation of alliances with Russia, Sardinia, Spain, Naples, Prussia, Austria,

[6] See Heeren, (vol. ii. p. 181,) who observes that 'his situation did not permit him to be, like William III., the soul of a great alliance. This is not in the power of a financier, but only of him who is at once a statesman and a general.'

Portugal, and Tuscany; as well as by subsidiary treaties with several German princes. Success at first attended the allies, whose victorious arms drove back, and confined the republican troops to their own territory; but rarely has success drawn down more fatal consequences: ideas of conquest and the lust of aggrandisement supplanted the original object of combination, excited the energies of despair, called forth the reign of terror, and turned every citizen into a soldier, by making the army the only safe place of refuge.

War, and the art of war, now assumed a new aspect. The path of distinction being thrown open to all, soldiers of low degree soon acquired fame as generals; Holland was conquered under favor of a liberal party in that country, and being turned into 'the single and indivisible Batavian Republic,' was attached to France; securing to that country the possession of Belgium, and altogether changing the situation of Prussia and the north of Germany. Still more did it change the situation of England; whose armies it excluded from the continent, lessening her interest in the war by land, and opening to her a rich prospect of conquest in the Dutch colonies.

But the seeds of dissention had already been springing up among the continental allies; nothing could eradicate that distrust between Austria and Prussia, so long nourished by Frederic; while the latter power became so rapidly and thoroughly exhausted by bad management, that after a shameful misapplication of British subsidies, she withdrew from the confederacy in April, 1795: having left the grand object of coalition, the suppression of revolutionary principles, unattained, and made a separate peace, with a line of demarcation fixed for the neutrality of the north of Germany. Spain also soon seceded from a contest in which she saw nothing to gain, but much to lose; yet England redoubled her exertions to keep together the remnant of the coalition, by scattering subsidies on all sides. The national debt was soon doubled; so that it became necessary to double the national income. Hence her extension of foreign trade; her suppression of neutral, and her annihilation of hostile commerce: hence also that spirit of the mercantile system infused into this war. The sole dominion of the seas and the consequent occupation of the enemy's colonies became the only means by which the British system could exist during such a contest: accordingly every effort was made to secure those means; so that, before the end of this period the French and Dutch navies were

more than half destroyed, and their most important colonies had passed under the dominion of their antagonist.

After the secession of Prussia and Spain, England redoubled her exertions; signing a treaty of alliance with Austria and Russia, and effecting a new commercial treaty with the latter power; but active co-operation formed no part of Catherine's policy: thus the chief burden fell on Southern Germany; the war began to languish, and in December, 1795, Austria, after some partial success, made a truce with the republic. Meantime the executive power of France had been committed to a directory of five members; while the legislative was administered by two chambers, after a dissolution of the national convention, October 28, 1795.

Henceforward the peace of the continent seemed to depend on that with Austria; and to oblige her to sue for it, the directory attempted to penetrate into the very heart of her dominions; sending three armies—two from the Upper and Lower Rhine, and one from Italy: a complex plan, difficult of execution, especially while the Rhenish strongholds were in the hands of Austria, who possessed also an excellent general in her own imperial house: to the archduke Charles she was now indebted for her preservation. This able commander gained two victories over Jourdan, and compelled Moreau to make his celebrated retreat in October, 1796: but the fate of his country was to be determined in Italy, where the star of Napoleon was now rising; to whom one campaign gave possession of Lombardy, and opened the road into Austria, by the fall of Mantua in February, 1797. That power was then obliged to sue for peace; and Venice, with its isles in the Adriatic, was the sacrifice required: preliminaries were signed at Leoben, and the treaty of Campo Formio soon followed. France then remained mistress of Belgium and of northern Italy: the Cisalpine republic was formed; a Polish legion instituted; and the Germanic empire, now secretly abandoned by Austria, as before by Prussia, looked anxiously to its fate. England, being left without an ally on the continent, entrusted her pacific negotiations to lord Malmsbury at Lille; but without success.

The principal interest which attached itself to colonial affairs at this period, centered in the rapid increase of territory in North America, and the development of her commerce: this latter became so extensive by means of treaties, of the carrying-trade, and of liberal regulations, as to become second only to that of Great Britain: but when disputes arose with

France and England, she took the extraordinary resolution of suspending all commercial intercourse, for a time, with both those countries: the number of her states had become increased to sixteen: and by the purchase of Louisiana from France, she came into full possession of the mighty Mississippi and its tributary streams, which opened magnificent prospects for the future.

The West Indian colonies, founded on slavery, underwent great changes, and some of them terrible catastrophes. The voice of humanity was now loudly raised against the detestable traffic in human beings: but the inconsiderate application of general maxims sometimes created greater atrocities than it was designed to prevent. Thus the colony of St. Domingo was sacrificed, and with it one of the richest sources of French commerce.

The great Spanish colonies in South America escaped these evils; for though slavery existed there, yet slaves never had a preponderance: no disturbances therefore arose; and the interruption of commerce with the mother country by the war seemed the only evil to be anticipated. The political relations of Brazil with Portugal were different; and commerce was under more restrictions: but as the mother country continued to be attached to British interests, free communication was not interrupted; and Brazil had more to gain than to lose from the naval wars of Europe: the time however was approaching, when the political relations of the mother country should loosen and eventually untie the bonds of dependence, to found in South America an empire, equal in extent, and superior in fertility, to the great republic of the north. Africa also began now to attract more attention among Europeans; and its inhospitable tracts became objects of enterprise to many, who were excited and encouraged by the descriptions of Bruce, the French expedition, and the British 'African Association.'

In the East Indies, where the Dutch war gave possession of the islands to Great Britain, her power became concentrated by the fall of Tippoo Sultaun; and the Mahratta princes were her only foes at present to be feared: but these were subdued or restrained; Agra, Delhi, and soon afterwards Ceylon, fell under her dominion; the territorial sway of her antagonist being limited to the isles of France and Bourbon, always vexatious to the commerce and power of England in the east, on account of the protection which they gave to privateers, and the connection which they kept up with Indian princes.

The British settlements also in Australia began to rise into importance, promising rich returns to the mother country in the produce of their flocks, as well as ample space for settlements to her superabundant or discontented population.

Period III. Part II. Northern system.

The internal relations of the north, in this period, grew principally out of the alliance made by Russia with Austria, and the dissolution of her connection with Prussia: hence the war of those two powers against Turkey, and consequently that against Sweden, as well as the calamitous treatment and final destruction of Poland. The league formed between Prussia and Great Britain, on account of the disturbances in Holland, gave to the latter power a greater influence over the north than she had hitherto possessed: toward the close of the period the north became influenced by the new scenes exhibited in France, which in some degree modified the sentiments of European cabinets.

The fact of Russia being at variance with England and Prussia, contributed to bring on the Turkish war, of which Potemkin was the soul, and in which the emperor Joseph lost his reputation and destroyed his health. The distress of the Porte roused the activity of England and Prussia; which powers, without entering directly into the contest, attempted to effect diversions in Poland, and in Sweden; where Gustavus III. lost neither honor nor territory in his conflict with so formidable a foe as Russia. Great difficulties were opposed to the termination of this Turkish war, because strangers became intermingled in it. England, and especially Prussia, desired to prescribe the terms of peace; a Prussian alliance with the Porte was formed, and a Prussian army assembled in Silesia; when the death of Joseph, in February, 1790, and the unsettled state of his realms at the accession of Leopold, led to hopes of a pacification with Austria, which was entered upon at Reichenbach and concluded about the middle of the next year at Sziotové; its principal condition being a restitution of the *status quo* before the war. Negotiations with Russia were more difficult, since Catherine, now reconciled to Sweden, was offended at the high tone held by Prussia and England, prescribing to her similar conditions respecting the *status quo*. Unawed by the presence of a British fleet, she resolved to conclude her own peace; and did so, obtaining as the prizes of war Oczakoff, and the strip of land lying between the Dnieper and the Neister: in other quarters her boun-

daries remained unchanged. Thus after a bloody contest of four years it was found scarcely possible to affect the outworks of an empire not only defended by the courage of enthusiasm, but so situated and circumstanced as always to engage some European powers in its behalf. The more important consequences to Russia consisted in the formation of experienced generals, and in her dominion established on the Black Sea, by possession of the Crimea and its contiguous territories, where Cherson and Odessa were destined soon to rise: yet these advantages were in some degree counterbalanced by great financial embarrassments.

The two neighboring states of Sweden and Poland were differently affected by this second Turkish war: the former obtained a restitution of its independence and a friendly connection with Russia; but an augmentation of the regal power proved dangerous to the state; and cost Gustavus his life, March 17, 1792, when he had determined to place himself at the head of the alliance against France. Swedish neutrality was preserved under the regency of the duke of Sudermania.

Very different was the destiny of Poland; in which unhappy country the anti-Russian party became clamorous, as soon as a defender appeared in Prussia. The abolition of the constitution guaranteed by Russia, and the introduction of a new one more adapted to the spirit of the age, were demanded and obtained, under guarantee of Prussia; Russia acquiescing, as long as her hands were bound by the Turkish war: but when the peace of Jassy left her free to act, she sent her armies into Poland: a spirited resistance was made, in vain, by the Poles under Poniatowski, Kosciusko, and other leaders; the new order of things was overthrown, and Poland again subjected to spoliation; a portion of its territory being given to its protector Prussia, secretly leagued with Russia for its ruin. About one-third of this unhappy country was left with a nominal independence, but really under the authoritative influence of Russia: even its capital was occupied by Russian troops, whose commander in chief was also ambassador from the Czarina. Under these unpropitious circumstances, while scarcely the semblance of hope remained, their country's cause was not given up by the patriots, who found in Kosciusko a leader worthy of their confidence. The spirit of resistance again broke out, at Cracow, in March 1794, and at Warsaw in April, when the Russians suffered a severe defeat: in the autumn of that year hope was still further encouraged by Frederic

William's fruitless expedition against Warsaw; but the fate of the Poles was linked with that of one man; and when Kosciusko fell, nothing was left for them but the surrender of their capital: the country was then dismembered, with the co-operation of Austria, and Poland was erased from the list of nations: but it was reserved for the emperor Nicholas, in later times, to aim at extirpating the Polish race, and to ravage the miserable country with a barbarity scarcely surpassed by that of Attila or Mahomet II. The overthrow of Poland was followed by the subjection of Courland, its former fief, to Russian domination. 'Catherine thus lived,' says Heeren, 'to see the conclusion of the grand tragedy, which in fact she alone terminated, as she alone had begun it thirty years before. She had divided the soil with others, but not the dominion: and what she had granted, would perhaps have only been lent, had she not been surprised by death. No one of her predecessors had exercised influence like hers in Europe; but history has shown that this influence had its bounds, and what they were. Things were intirely changed, when her only son Paul I. ascended the throne, too late for himself with contrary maxims.' (Vol. ii. p. 235.)

Second Division of the Period: From the peace of Campo Formio to the Establishment of the French Empire: 1797—1804.

France aggrandised by the possession of Belgium, Savoy, Nice, and Avignon, closely allied with Spain, and holding in her chains Italy and Holland, now meditated an acquisition calculated to render the Germanic Empire dependent on her will. What indeed was there to stop this project of extending her frontiers to the Rhine, while Austria was employed in healing her wounds, and Prussia, drained by an extravagant administration, stood with open frontiers, hesitating whether to join France or Russia? This latter country was now brought geographically so much nearer to the West, that henceforth the separation of the Northern and Southern states may be said to disappear, and Europe to constitute but one political system.

The congress which met at Radstadt, during the very session of which Mayence was surrounded, and Ehrenbreitstein insidiously captured, put France into possession of her Rhenish boundary: this secured her military pre-eminence; while she herself increased her political influence, in adopting the scheme of indemnifying injured potentates by secularizations. About

this time the head of the Roman church, with several of his cardinals, was forcibly carried off, and a republic established in Rome, February 15, 1798: also a violent revolution in Switzerland overturned its long-established structure of government, transforming a league of confederated states into one Helvetic Republic; while that of Geneva and the Pays de Vaud, were incorporated with France; who thus carried out the system, so successfully begun in Flanders and Holland, of revolutionizing the countries into which her armies penetrated.

England still stood firm; with a doubled debt indeed, but with resources also doubled. In the mean time France, under her rising general, soon to become her lord, planned an enterprise intended to cripple those resources, by giving a new direction to the colonial system. The conquest and colonisation of Egypt, combined with the occupation of Malta (which place capitulated without resistance in June 1798), was to effect this object: but England now rose in her might; when her brilliant victory at Aboukir not only gave her undisputed dominion over the Mediterranean, and shut up the army of her antagonist in the prison-house of Egypt, but effected another coalition against France between herself, Russia, Sardinia, Tuscany, and the kingdom of the two Sicilies; which was joined by Austria in January, 1799. This confederacy was soon crowned by great and rapid victories in Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, under the Archduke Charles and the celebrated Suwarrow; but every important consequence was frustrated by the neutrality of Prussia, which covered Holland and Belgium; by the interests of England clashing with those of the Continent; by the premature secession of Naples, destructive both to itself and to Sardinia: but more especially by the capricious character of the Russian Emperor Paul I. In the mean time general Buonaparte escaped from Egypt, assumed the title of First Consul, and speedily restored French supremacy in Italy; while Moreau and Brune were almost equally successful in Germany: then followed the treaty of Luneville, which reft her allies from England; though it could not deprive her of Malta, that strong pillar of her naval power, which she had previously reduced. Egypt by her aid had been already restored to the Porte; and the Ionian Islands were now formed into a republic under the joint guarantee of that power and Russia. No long time afterwards the Peace of Amiens, concluded in March, 1802, gave a short period of repose to European nations, from a war undertaken for the sake of continental freedom, but terminated without that object

having been obtained. The First Consul was now in the zenith of his glory; 'and it lay in his choice,' says Heeren, 'to rule Europe without farther conquests: and he would have governed it, had he been able to govern himself.'

The first great political act which engaged attention related to the German indemnities, fixed by the treaty of peace at Luneville. This, which took place at Ratisbon, deprived the spiritual princes of their electoral seats, and apportioned their temporal estates to the powers favored by France; leaving indeed a Germanic empire, but very different from the old one—a collection of states, under foreign influence, with a nominal sovereign at their head. It soon appeared that the great central power of Europe, antiquated as it was, could not be overturned without a general convulsion.

The peace lately concluded, enabled the European nations to recover their energies, but did not eradicate distrust, the element of new strife. England, perceiving her error, refused to evacuate Malta; which guarded Egypt, and secured her naval superiority in the Mediterranean: nor would France concede this point; whilst her formal incorporation of the plundered terriority of Piedmont, without any previous agreement, showed her contempt for those natural boundaries on which great stress had been laid. National anomosity on both sides was inflamed by journalists and other agents; so that in May, 1803, a new war sprang up, far more extensive and lasting than its authors contemplated; and which contributed, among other important consequences, to establish an hereditary imperial throne in France. On the 2nd of December, 1804, Napoleon Buonaparte was crowned and anointed Emperor of the French by Pope Pius VII.; and one of his first acts was to promulgate the *code Napoleon*. His two brothers, Joseph and Louis, and his two colleagues, Le Brun and Cambaceres, were declared *Grand Elector*, *Constable*, *Arch-Chancellor*, and *Arch-Treasurer*; while the dignity of Field-Marshal was conferred on the most distinguished of his generals.

Third Division of the Period: From the establishment of the French empire to the restoration of the European system by its fall, 1804—1821.

The project of an unlimited monarchy in Europe, was now, after an interval of many ages, revived by a Corsican adventurer; who had already made considerable progress toward his object, through his power and influence, direct or indirect, over the continental states. He swayed with absolute despotism

the government of France, whose borders he had extended to the Rhine, and beyond the Alps; nor did a long time elapse before he repaired to Milan, where he placed the iron crown of Lombardy, with his own hands, upon his head. In the mean time Spain, the Rhenish states, the Batavian, and Helvetian republics, were kept in dependence by alliances or by fear: a French army, occupying Hanover, held Prussia and Denmark in check; while Austria was liable to attack, whenever it might please her invader. The distant realms of Russia and Sweden alone stood erect, in continental Europe; looking gloomily on this posture of affairs; refusing to acknowlege the new imperial title; and even going so far as to break off diplomatic negotiations with France.

The repeated solemn assurance given by Napoleon, that the limits of the French empire were fixed, was soon broken by his seizure of Genoa and incorporation of the Ligurian republic with France; while his insolent bulletins, issued against other potentates, turned the eyes of all toward England; where the helm of the state, from which Pitt had retired before the peace of Amiens, was again intrusted to that minister. The new relations of Europe, acting on his previous policy, soon produced another coalition, the professed object of which was to reduce France to her ancient limits, and secure independence to the continental states. This measure, however, only anticipated the wishes of Napoleon, whose immense army, ready for action, was lying on the other side of the Channel, under pretext of a meditated invasion of England. Of this coalition she was of course the subsidising, and therefore the moving, power: but, though it was joined by Russia, Austria, and Sweden, Prussia obstinately refused to abandon a neutrality, of which she soon became the victim: yet without her accession, no efficient attack on the French empire was practicable; since her neutrality protected its northern portion. Sweden also in disgust retired from the confederacy; and such was the dread of Buonaparte's power, that several German princes, particularly the Elector of Bavaria, joined his standard.

Never was a campaign so quickly brought to a conclusion as that which ensued. Austria, as if to assist in her own degradation, opposed the notorious general Mack to Napoleon, by whom he was instantly attacked and defeated, before the Russian auxiliaries could come up. Then followed the surrender of Ulm, and the triumphant entry of Buonaparte into Vienna, whence the Emperor Francis had retired. The Russians at length arrived, to be witnesses, more than sharers,

of the bloody battle at Austerlitz, which forced Austria to accept the conditions imposed on her by her conqueror at the peace of Presburg: by these not only was France confirmed in her power, but her limits were advanced even to Turkey, by the cession of Venice and its Dalmatian provinces; while her Germanic allies received augmentations of territory at the expense of Austria, and royal crowns from the hands of Napoleon. In return, the integrity of his remaining empire was guaranteed to Francis; who also received Salzburg and Berchtolsgaden as a Duchy, and the secularized dignity of Master of the Teutonic Order—at that time an empty title; but since found to confer important influence and privileges on its possessor.

Though Russia still remained in arms, yet had the victorious Corsican made a forward step to facilitate his career. The power of Austria, deprived of her outworks in the Tyrol[7] and Venice, and obliged to acknowlege Napoleon as king of Italy, rested now chiefly on the fidelity of her own people: the Southern states of Germany were bound in a closer connection with France; whilst a continual exchange of territorial possessions tended to dissolve all security of title, as well as all those ties which bind subjects to their princes. Napoleon, therefore, took this occasion to strengthen the foundations of his own dynasty by advancing his elder brother Joseph to the throne of Naples; the ancient dynasty of which, according to his imperial proclamation, 'ceased to reign,' December 27, 1805; he also conferred the vice-royalty of Italy on Eugene Beauharnois, son of his empress Josephine; and settled his sisters in Lucca, Piombino, and Guastalla. The electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg were also elevated to the rank of kings.

But while these fearful portents lowered gloomily over the continental atmosphere, the great antagonistic power of England vindicated to itself the dominion of the ocean; cheering the afflicted nations, crippling the resources of the tyrant, and preparing the means of hurling him from his throne. The victory of Trafalgar, which at one blow crushed the navies of France and Spain, was received in England with equal joy and sorrow; for the hero by whom it was gained, had fallen in the cause of his country and of Europe: but he had formed his school; so that the remaining maritime and colonial resources of the enemy soon rested in British harbors, and under British sway.

In the midst of these defeats of his allies and triumphs of his country, Pitt fell a victim to anxiety, disappointment, and

[7] Annexed with part of the Brisgaw to Bavaria.

a broken constitution; leaving also a school, and disciples; who, though inferior to their master, had imbibed his principles and ultimately justified his policy. Fox now obtained a seat in the British cabinet; but soon found himself obliged to steer in the direction of his predecessor's policy: like Pitt, however, he formed a very false opinion of the facility of obtaining peace, and of its stability if obtained: on the very brink of the grave, as if totally ignorant of what was passing on the continent, he entered into pacific negotiations; but the consequences of treaties made at Presburg were now rapidly and fearfully developing themselves. Prussia stood in the despot's way: she had weakly held back at first; but had exhibited signs and preparations for war after the contest had been decided at Austerlitz; so she was obliged to cede her provinces of Cleves and Berg to Murat and Berthier, to be held as advanced posts of the French empire: moreover the definitive, instead of the provisional, occupation of Hanover, was pressed upon her by her astute dictator, that she might be brought into collision with Sweden, and actual war with England. Thus was her fall prepared; whilst almost every potentate in Europe viewed with anxiety the number of those for whom provision was to be made; more especially when this family power soon became augmented by the conversion of the Batavian republic into a kingdom; which was given by the emperor to his brother Louis, but in strict dependence on the imperial throne. A grand federative system, like that of Rome and its social states, was commonly spoken of: the senate of France had already given the title of 'Great' to its idol; and now successfully invoked the spirit of catholicism to insert the name of St. Napoleon, and the solemnisation of his day, in the Roman calendar.

The central state of Europe was destined now to fall, because by its position and form, it obstructed new arrangements; and a simple declaration of the Corsican to the diet, that he no longer recognised the Germanic empire, was sufficient to overturn this ancient institution. Austria therefore, voluntarily laying aside its imperial crown, adopted that which she still wears; while Napoleon rearing a new edifice on the ruins of the old, appointed himself protector of "the Confederation of the Rhine;" over the movements and resources of which he kept the supreme command. Having thus taken another step in his ambitious career, and rendered it impossible to form a league in Germany against French interests, he prepared the fall of Prussia by various arts; more particularly by a proposal in his negotiations with England to take from Prussia that very

realm of Hanover, which had been, as it were, forced upon her. The knowlege of this transaction drove her to a declaration of war, October 8, 1806: then followed the battles of Jena and Auerstadt; the flight of the Royal family to a Russian asylum; and the inextinguishable hatred of France in the breast of that old man with the spirit of youth, who lived to take ample vengeance on the conqueror of his country, and the insulter of his queen. Saxony which had been detached from the Prussian alliance, was now raised to the rank of a kingdom; the elector of Hesse was expelled from his dominions in reward for his neutrality; and the house of Hesse-Cassel, as well as that of Brunswick, whose duke fell in the field against the invaders, were declared to have ceased to reign.

With Prussia one of the bulwarks of the Russian empire had fallen; and the conqueror formed another grand project—the restoration of Poland—which was providentially deferred, until it became impracticable; otherwise it might have saved him from the terrible consequences of his Russian invasion. The progress of the French in the Prussian territories had so alarmed the Russian emperor, as well as the British government, that it procured for Frederic William that assistance of which his former supineness and intrusion on the Hanoverian territory rendered him undeserving. Sweden also was subsidised to send an army into Pomerania; but no effort of the allies was able to stop the victorious career of the French armies.

The contest was now transferred to the banks of the Vistula; and Russia, involved in a war with the Porte, had to defend her own borders; when a series of defeats, ending in the disastrous battle of Friedland, led to an armistice, and eventually to the peace of Tilsit. The provinces restored to Prussia, as a gift of charity, at the intercession of her more powerful ally, constituted her a second-rate-power: her sovereign, as well as the emperor Alexander, agreed to acknowledge the Rhenish confederacy, as well as the royal title of Napoleon's brothers, Joseph, Louis, and Jerome lately made king of Westphalia: the Czar, gained over by Napoleon's artifices, also agreed to accept the office of mediator for an insidious peace with England, signing a secret article to make common cause with France, in case it should be rejected; whilst many other extraordinary engagements were formed relative to European states; and the unfortunate Frederic William, burthened by contributions for the expenses of the war, was obliged to close all his ports against British navigation and trade: at the same time Turkey, which had been involved, by the arts of Sebas-

tiani, in a war with Russia and Great Britain, recovered its tranquillity, and the province of Moldavia lately occupied by Russian troops: Napoleon himself recovered the dominion of the Ionian islands. After such pacifications, and the removal of Russian influence from central Europe, the only hope of liberty for the fettered continent rested in the indomitable spirit and navy of Great Britain: against which power a new storm was gathering, to vent its rage in vain.

In the league instituted to destroy British commerce, great assistance was expected from the voluntary, or, if necessary, from the forced co-operation of the Danish fleet. This part of the scheme, however, was frustrated by the prompt measures of Great Britain; to which power the surrender of that fleet, after a bombardment of Copenhagen, gave additional security, though it produced a declaration of war from Russia, and a strict alliance between Denmark and France, which was to lay open the road to Sweden. Immediately the 'continental system,' (as it was termed,) for the annihilation of British commerce, came into action. Its corner-stone was laid in the Berlin decree of November 1806, declaring the British Islands to be in a state of blockade; to which succeeded, in January 1807, that of Warsaw; calling down reprisals in our 'orders of council:' these were answered by the Milan decree, suppressing the navigation of neutrals; and finally by the insane decree of Fontainbleau, which lighted up the fires of a commercial inquisition against the trade of the civilised world.

This was a desperate throw in the game which the tyrant was now playing for universal dominion: but it eminently failed. In the first place, he found it an impracticable task to shut up all inlets to commercial enterprise; for places insignificant and unknown to fame, soon rose into consequence by the trade which forced itself through those channels. Even the reclamation of his own subjects made itself heard; permission was obtained to import colonial produce into France at an *ad valorem* duty of 50 per cent., and a general trade was carried on by the grant of licenses, contrary to the whole tenor of imperial decrees. In the next place, the despot by these measures placed himself in direct opposition to the whole civilized world, in which he raised a spirit of inextinguishable hatred toward himself; while Great Britain, whose ships now covered the ocean, laughed at the futile efforts made against her commercial superiority. The system adopted not only left her as it found her, but opened her eyes to her own peculiar and impregnable position.

That position was now to be attacked through Spain and Portugal; the latter of which countries was her oldest ally while the thrones of both were intended to augment the family grandeur, and promote the ambitious views of Napoleon. The intrigues which took place on this occasion are too long for present recital: it may be sufficient to observe that Spain was induced by the manœuvres of Godoy, the queen's favorite, who had a view to the principality of Algarves, to enter into a treaty with France for the partition of Portugal. Accordingly a force of 26,000 French, under General Junot, augmented by a considerable number of Spanish troops, marched through the Peninsula, whilst a still larger army was collected at Bayonne. On the 1st of December, 1807, Junot entered Lisbon, and the house of Braganza also was declared to have ceased to reign: but that house, having escaped under protection of a British fleet, reigned over its transatlantic dominions, fearless of its persecutor's decrees. In the mean time many fortresses in Spain had been craftily occupied by French troops; while the flower of its army was drafted into Italy, and thence transferred to Denmark, for the purpose of threatening Sweden.

Hitherto such royal families only as were naturally hostile to France, or driven by circumstances to oppose her power, had been expelled from their thrones: but now the very friends and allies of Napoleon were to make room for the members of his dynasty. Domestic quarrels were seized upon, popular insurrections fomented, and the whole family of Charles IV. inveigled into France; when the throne of Spain was given to Joseph Buonaparte; who was succeeded on that of Naples, by the Corsican's brother-in-law Joachim Murat; the vacated Duchy of Berg being granted to a young son of Louis king of Holland, with an official injunction 'that his *first* duty was toward the Emperor, his *second* toward France, his *third* toward his future subjects:' till his majority the Grand Duchy was to remain under French administration.

It has been affirmed that in his Peninsula scheme Napoleon embarked contrary to the strong remonstrances of his subtle minister Talleyrand; who, when his advice was rejected, gave utterance to a memorable prediction respecting the overthrow of his power: whether such be the case or not, this great political error was pregnant with the most important consequences. The steps which the tyrant now took were unnecessary, because he already ruled in Spain: moreover, they were taken without a due consideration of the Spanish character

and country: they opened a drain for French soldiers and treasure; whilst England obtained an arena upon which another Marlborough was about to appear. Europe also was taught the important lesson, that a determined people are more powerful than mercenary armies: nor must we forget to remark, that by the decrees of Providence, an evil agent became an instrument of extensive good: the troubles of Spain gave freedom to a vast portion of the globe, when her much abused power in South America fell, never to be recovered.

After several defeats like those under Dupont and Junot, of which the inexperienced foe was unable to take advantage, and many victories gained by French marshals, which gave them little beyond the ground on which their armies stood, new troops from France, as well as from the Rhenish confederacy, were poured into Spain; which country Napoleon determined to visit in person. This resolution, however, required some precaution and preparation; for Austria had already assumed a doubtful attitude; so that his rear was to be protected, and Russia to be secured: hence the great congress of sovereigns and statesmen at Erfurdt, held ostensibly for renewing proposals of peace to England; which were rejected by that power, because Spain was not admitted to the conference. Then followed Napoleon's short campaign; the retreat of sir John Moore; the embarkation of the British army; and a formal alliance between England and Spain, on the terms of mutual assistance and a common peace.

Whatever symptoms of reconciliation Austria might have exhibited in this celebrated congress, her dissatisfaction and distrust lay too deep for removal; while peculiar circumstances obliged Napoleon to make demands, and to exact compliances, derogatory to her dignity and prejudicial to her interests: experience too had taught her that if Spain were subjugated, her own inactivity would assuredly entail upon her the fate of Prussia: nor was she insensible to the example which the Spanish people now exhibited. So early as in June, 1808, military preparations had been made in Austria, and a general militia established; whence it seemed probable that war was already resolved on. Napoleon repeatedly demanded that the people should be disarmed; and fruitless proposals of a mutual guarantee were made to Russia, March 27: accordingly hostilities commenced; and war was formally declared against France, April 16. This contest, aggressive on the part of Austria—but rightfully so, in order to break her present chains

and avoid worse—was sensibly felt throughout Europe; and though her summons to the Germanic nations was answered only by the faithful Tyrolese, yet in other places were seen signs of struggling liberty, which struck the oppressor with dismay. Cut off from England; unsupported by Prussia, whose strength lay prostrated; at variance with Russia, once her best ally; and contemplating foes on her very borders in the Rhenish confederation, Austria nobly carried on the contest: but, after the bloody and well-contested battles of Asperne and Wagram, she was obliged to accept the conqueror's terms; promising an unconditional accession to the 'Continental System,' and a disruption of all ties with Great Britain. Indeed at this period Great Britain, under her contemptible war ministry, was an object rather of derision, than of desire, to the continental nations; being disgraced, not only by innumerable errors committed in Spain, but by failure in the greatest expedition which ever left her shores: its object was to effect a diversion for her Spanish allies, and to destroy the enemy's maritime resources at Antwerp: its consequences were ignominious retreat, pestilence, and destruction; because (according to custom) the worst possible general was selected to command the finest of armies: and for this insane enterprise every energetic diversion in the north of Germany, where it would have been really useful, was omitted: well might Austria accept the continental system, and break off all relations with this nation; whose inability to manage her vast resources, seemed as if calculated to lead her allies into peril and misfortune.

The Illyrian provinces of Austria, now ceded to France, and united with her Italian states, brought the French empire into more immediate contact with Turkey; while Servia was in revolt, and Greece was meditating it. Distant prospects in the east were thus disclosed to the mental vision of Napoleon; but he made another grand political error in the west, by confiscating the estates of the Roman church, and forcibly carrying off its head as a prisoner. 'The defenceless,' as Heeren observes, (vol. ii. p. 302,) 'could not prevent the rapine of the powerful: but Buonaparte did not seize his prey with intire impunity. In the full dignity of his office, without deviating a tittle from his duty, Pius VII. had withstood every encroachment on his rights as a prince and pope. Where the last blow of the usurper fell, he also had recourse to his last weapons; and Napoleon bore away his spoils, loaded with the maledictions of the Church. Pius VII. was arrested, forcibly

removed, and imprisoned; but it could not restore harmony between church and state. As the continental system of Napoleon was rupugnant with nature, so his ecclesiastical system was at war with conscience. And was the latter easier to subdue than the former?

But in the north of Europe important revolutions were now produced by the obstinate firmness of Gustavus IV., in his war with France, and his close connection with England; which brought him into collision with Denmark and Russia. This latter power, ever patient, and ever on the watch to advance her ambitious schemes, resolved not to let such an opportunity pass unimproved: accordingly she entered into a contest, which ended not until she had obtained Finland as far as the river of Tornco, together with the isle of Aland; which acquisitions rendered her impregnable in the north. The unfortunate Gustavus was deposed, and expatriated; his uncle Charles XIII. took possession of the throne; and Sweden, having made peace with France and Denmark, consented to join the 'continental system.'

At the close of this year the continent, with the exception of the Spanish peninsula, was in a state of fallacious tranquillity; surrounded by officers of customs and police; watched internally by spies and informers; harassed by a system of passports which perpetually recalled tyranny to men's minds: and tortured by conscription laws, which carried demoralisation and dismay into the bosom of almost every family: all things were rendered subservient to the grandeur of the French empire; and though many gigantic undertakings were executed at the cost of the people, yet nothing could compensate for the loss of liberty and the annihilation of commerce.

To consolidate this empire, and provide a successor to its head and founder, the sacred ties of marriage were now to be broken; accordingly on the 15th of December, Napoleon divorced his empress Josephine; and in April, 1810, he led to the hymencal altar Maria Louisa, an Austrian archduchess; by whom he had a son in March, 1811, who was immediately nominated king of Rome. 'Many hoped that ambition would be repressed by softer feelings, the interest of the husband and father: others feared that his empire was now consolidated by such connections, beyond the possibility of being shaken, both ignorant that Germany had an emperor who, if reduced to the choice, would not scruple to postpone the consideration of his daughter to that of his country.'

Experience soon proved the vanity of all such expectations;

the very nature of Napoleon's power demanded its extension and consolidation; and as partial thraldom is less tolerable than total servitude, a more direct and stringent dominion was the consequence. The plan therefore of uniting dependent states to the empire was more fully carried out; those of the church were so incorporated (February 17, 1810); Tuscany was placed nominally under the sway of the despot's sister Eliza; but the Valois was separated from Switzerland; the Italian Tyrol, taken from Bavaria, was annexed to the kingdom of Italy; and Holland itself was joined to the empire: the same decree which deprived one brother of his throne took half of his Westphalian kingdom from another, with part of the Duchy of Berg, all Oldenburg, and the three Hanseatic towns. When the emperor thus treated his own relatives, what prospect remained for those that were aliens in blood? The grand problem however was now about to receive a solution, whether such a dominion as Napoleon contemplated could exist without those adjuncts of ships, colonies, and commerce, which he so much coveted, but which he never could obtain. One hundred ships of the line were laid down in the great works at Antwerp: but sailors could not be formed like soldiers: meanwhile no vessel, or fleet of France, dared to leave its port; her remaining islands fell into the hands of the British; nor could all the preparations made by the king of Naples enable him to cross the Straits of Charybdis, and enforce his title to the crown of the Two Sicilies.

But an important change in affairs was at hand: for the ocean queen, laying aside the trident of Neptune, now assumed the sword of Mars. Though the contest in the Spanish peninsula had never ceased, it did not rise to its full height and expansion, until the peace of Vienna placed all the forces of the empire at Napoleon's disposal. In opposition to his colossal power stood the combined troops of Spain, Portugal, and Great Britain; if that could be called a combination where Spanish and Portuguese jealousy and intrigue threw every possible obstacle in the way of the British, and their great commander; whose patience and moral courage in these political and domestic difficulties threw a lustre upon his character unsurpassed even by that of his victories in the field.

There is no necessity for our anticipating the detail of battles and sieges, marches and retreats, plots and stratagems, which distinguished this grand contest; but it does become necessary to remark, that even before its conclusion, and while

it was furnishing employment for the finest troops of France, the dark spirit of Napoleon began to meditate a new, and still more formidable war. The continental system, that great instrument of his weal or woe, was now either to be relinquished, or carried out in its full length and breadth: its oppressive yoke began to gall the necks of the Rusaian aristocracy; a power which the Autocratic Czar himself dares not to exasperate: he was therefore obliged to relax that system: negotiations thence ensued; evasive answers were elicited and it became evident that a conflict was at hand which must soon decide the fate of Europe; for it would be one in which every state must participate: neutrality would be certain ruin to the weak.

Napoleon, by his previous policy, had made vast preparations for an attack on Russia, while this latter country was engaged in hostilities with the Porte: but she was enabled to conclude them on advantageous terms, giving her possession of Bessarabia and the eastern part of Moldavia. The position of Austria under the impending contest was less dangerous, lying out of the immediate sphere of its influence, and able to determine the amount of her auxiliary force, as well as its employment, to a certain degree; for in such a crisis policy demanded that she should be spared: her alliance, therefore, was only defensive against Russia. The grand route of the armies lay through Prussian provinces; and the utter ruin of that state became imminent; no means of safety appearing, except in a strict alliance, offensive and defensive, with the despot: even this was not conceded without much difficulty, so often does the deepest state of degradation precede the time of highest exaltation! The part to be taken by the confederated princes of the Rhine was plain and certain; and the same remark will apply to the kingdom of Italy, Naples, and the Illyrian provinces; even Switzerland had to supply auxiliary troops. In the North, Denmark by its geographical situation was enabled to maintain a neutrality, though allied with France, and at actual war with England. Sweden, on the contrary, where the distinguished French Marshal Bernadotte had been adopted by the king, and declared his successor by the States, took advantage of the crisis, not only to emancipate herself from all dependence on France; but without engaging openly against her, to obtain a prospect of Norway, through the guarantee of Russia.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, Russia stood alone to face the danger: peace however was restored between her and

England, and an alliance concluded with the Spanish Cortes: but no aid could be expected from those quarters, except such as might proceed from an energetic prosecution of the Peninsular war. Russia, therefore, had the glory of sustaining this tremendous conflict by her own colossal strength.

The campaign opened on the part of the invaders by their crossing the Niemen; and their rapid march was marked with devastation, caused both by friends and foes. Such a march, which cut off all hope of safety to the conquered, brought Napoleon to the tomb of his grandeur, on the 14th of September, after the most bloody contest, at Borodino, which modern times had seen. The ancient capital of the empire was now offered up as a holocaust for its preservation; and in the flames of Moscow the light of freedom gleamed over the enslaved nations of Europe. Instead of a Capua, the invading army now stood in a desert; and that disastrous march homewards commenced, in which man's vengeance seemed but an inferior instrument in the hands of Providence to chastise the tyrant; so fearfully did the elements combine against his invading legions. Cold, and famine, as well as the sword, destroyed them in myriads; and the greater part of that miserable remnant which escaped such calamities, found a grave in the waters of the Beresina. From the banks of its fatal stream Napoleon, like the Persian monarch, fled alone toward his own capital; and before the close of 1812 Russia saw no foes within her spacious realms, except those whom she held in chains. Scarcely 1000 men capable of bearing arms could the gallant Viceroy of Italy at first collect behind the Vistula: only a few corps of reserve, and garrisons, with the separate armies of Prussia and Austria (the latter no longer now under the influence of Napoleon) were left. Poland, if its national existence had been restored, might have received her fugitive benefactor, and repaired his broken fortunes: but Poland, on which the whole plan of his Northern invasion should have rested as a base, had been neglected in consideration of Austria; and thus a marriage, which seemed to have rivetted the fetters of Europe, was providentially turned into an instrument of its emancipation.

Great however as was the joy of Europe at her changed prospects, a sudden insurrection was counteracted by fortresses and territories still in the occupation of French troops, as well as by the certainty that Napoleon had escaped: hence a powerful impulse became necessary; and that was given by the emperor Alexander, who pursued the foe beyond the borders of his realm; and thus gave the signal for a general rising of

the nations: those storms which had so long gathered in western Europe against the east, now took an opposite direction.

The Russian army under Kutusoff passed the frontier in five corps, entered Prussia, and encouraged that kingdom to assert its liberty. In January, 1813, Dantzic was besieged: in February the Vistula was crossed; and then the Oder. In March the Cossacks appeared in Berlin, which was occupied by general Wittgenstein; the viceroy having retreated beyond the Elbe and Saale. Thus opened that auspicious year which was destined to set Europe free. In Russia the war was decidedly popular: whether it would be so in Germany remained yet to be seen; and it was reserved for Prussia, the long degraded Prussia, to give an enthusiasm to the cause which never was surpassed. Throwing off his ignominious chains, the monarch called his people to arms, and they arose as one man. Mecklenburg and Hamburg followed their example; active aid was promised by Sweden; and if the insurrection did not become general on this side the Elbe, it was only force that restrained it. Denmark alone among the northern nations stood aloof, having collected her troops in Holstein.

New alliances, offensive and defensive, now took place between Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Great Britain; in which the principal article was a restoration of Prussia to her former rank and condition among European nations. Invitations to join the confederacy were sent to Austria; whilst England promised subsidies which no country but herself since the origin of society could have supplied. But a struggle was approaching which required extraordinary efforts: for what was the loss of an army to one who cared so little for the flow of human blood, and who still had such immense resources at command? The first measure taken by Napoleon, when he arrived at Paris, was a call on the nation for conscripts; and 250,000 more than he demanded were placed at his disposal by the conservative senate. With this repaired force he declared in the Moniteur of March 30, that 'even if the enemy stood on Montmartre, he would not give up a village of the empire.' Wonderful are the dispensations of retributive justice! On March 30, 1814, the enemy did stand on Montmartre, and the whole empire was given up with its capital.

The first months of the year 1813 formed a period of earnest preparation on both sides. Germany offered a spacious arena for the encounter; and the Elbe, from its mouth to the very

boundaries of Bohemia, constituted a line of division between the lists; but three Prussian fortresses on the right side of that river, as well as the strong city of Dantzic, remained in possession of the French. While the Russian and Prussian monarchs attended in person on their combined armies, Sweden was impelled to action by British subsidies, and by a promise of Norway, to be united to her crown: this at once brought Denmark into co-operation with Napoleon: who demanded and obtained contingents from the Rhenish confederates. Saxony, unable to separate her cause from that of France, became the grand theatre of war: but the severest fate awaited Hamburg, under the ruthless Davoust, the ready instrument of Napoleon's vengeance. After the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, an armistice ensued; and great was the anxiety of awakened Europe: peace was justly dreaded far more than a continuance of the war; and one great source of hope arose during the truce, which was not deceptive. A congress held at Prague was attended by the emperor Francis: his mediation with France was treated contemptuously; and at this decisive moment Austria declared war. All paternal considerations in her monarch's mind gave way to the cause of freedom and of national existence.

Two emperors and a king now took the field in person: inseparable from each other and from their armies, they shared every toil and danger, as they afterwards shared the glory of victory and the gratitude of Europe: an amalgamation also of their troops took place: the honor of supreme command being conferred on Austria; with whose general Schwartzenberg, the gallant veteran Blucher, and Barclay de Tolly, acted in the same perfect concord which distinguished their imperial and royal masters. In a congress held at Toplitz, England signed a treaty of alliance with Austria, with a stipulation for mutual aid to the utmost possible extent. The war became more popular as it became more general, calling out such masses of fighting men as Europe had never before seen within its boundaries: those of the confederates, together with the armies in the Spanish peninsula, amounted to little less than a million: those of Napoleon scarcely exceeded half that number, but were more concentrated and more ready for action. Dresden, which formed his head quarters, was first attacked; and there the gallant Moreau, recalled from long exile at the instigation of Bernadotte, his old friend and companion in arms, lost his valuable life. But although this attack failed, other important victories were won, especially over Vandamme, Macdonald,

Oudinot, and Ney: the allies drew a circle closer and closer round their antagonist; who vainly attempted to penetrate to Berlin, or to reach Bavaria. Even in his rear the light troops of his opponents began to act, and chased the king of Westphalia from his dominions. It became no longer possible for Napoleon to remain in Dresden without seeing his soldiers dying by starvation: so he quitted it to meet his fate at Leipzic.

The battle of Leipzic, in which half a million of troops were engaged, scattered to the winds the long cherished scheme of universal empire. The detail of this important conflict, which lasted three days, belongs not to this place: its result consisted in Napoleon's retreat to Mayence, whither he brought 70,000 men to fill the hospitals. Though he had placed the Rhine between himself and his foes, this obstacle did not long delay pursuit: the Rhenish confederation now threw off its chains; even before his grand defeat Bavaria gave the signal; which Wirtemberg, Baden, and the others followed. 'Every one,' says the animated historian, 'that could bears arms seized them; the plough and workshop were abandoned; the lecture-room and counting-house were deserted; even young females, dissembling their sex, hastened in arms to the ranks of the combatants; while matrons, undismayed at contagion or death, nursed the sick and wounded. Herman's spirit seemed awakened, and the day of suffering for Germany was the day of its renown.'[8]

Holland also now cast off the yoke under which she had so long been oppressed, and laid the foundation of a constitutional monarchy; Denmark too made peace with England, Russia, and Prussia; while on the side of Italy the half of Lombardy, the Italian Tyrol, and the Illyrian provinces, were liberated by the retreat of Prince Eugene into Bavaria: whither he carried with him the respect and love of those whom he had governed with singular wisdom and virtue among the many upstart princes of the time. Murat, on the contrary, though he obtained an alliance with Austria, and a truce with England, made it appear that his only wish was to gain time for deliberation and intrigues; so that he lost the confidence of all parties. In this same year the power of Napoleon in the Spanish peninsula was crushed by Wellington, whose progress from victory to victory brought him before its close upon the soil of France. Ferdinand VII. was then released by his gaoler, and sent back to be the curse of Spain.

[8] Heeren, vol. ii. p. 336.

In the mean time the conquering armies of the confederated monarchs, stopping at the Rhine, spread themselves along that magnificent river, from its sources to its very outlets: if the troops needed repose, the cabinets which directed them needed deliberation. Rarely have such victories been attended with such moderation. After a declaration issued at Frankfort, 'that they were contending, not against France, but against the preponderating power exercised by Napoleon without her boundaries,' they proposed peace on the conditions of leaving the French empire untouched within the limits of the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine; while the independence of other states beyond those boundaries was guaranteed. Happily for Europe the notion of unlimited dominion had taken such root in the French emperor's mind, that this lesson of moderation was lost upon him, and the proffered terms were rejected: the allies therefore resolved that the issue of the war should be decided on the French territory; accordingly their armies, about 400,000 strong, crossed the Rhine at different places, to form a junction in Champagne, January 25, 1814.

After various victories and defeats as well as great dangers from diplomacy, in which Napoleon still urged very exorbitant demands, some intercepted letters clearly indicated the insincerity of all his negotiations, and the Quadruple Alliance of Chaumont was concluded: hopes revived that the royal throne would be re-established by the French nation; scions of the withered race of Bourbon appeared in the allied armies as well as in that of Wellington: the line of march to Paris was decreed, and rendered practicable by the glorious victory of Blucher at Laon; the defeat of Marmont and Mortier at La Fere Champenoise followed; Montmartre was stormed and the capital surrendered. As Lyons had been previously occupied, and Wellington was advancing in the South, the invading armies now possessed lines of communication from the Moskwa to the Tagus; and the destinies of France were in the hands of the confederated sovereigns.

Since a treaty of peace would have been only a truce, in which the nations of Europe would never have dared to lay aside their arms, a proclamation was issued, to the intent 'that they would no longer treat with Napoleon or any of his family:' then followed the establishment of a provisional government, a demand for the restoration of the Bourbons, and the deposition of the emperor; whose own abdication and exile, put a period to his dream of universal empire: on the ground thus levelled, the Bourbon throne was re-constructed, and a con-

stitution framed, which was able to give a pledge to Europe of future tranquillity. France herself, returning to her ancient boundaries, and acknowleging the independence of neighboring states, was still left in the first rank of nations: she also recovered her lost colonies, with very few exceptions; entering into an agreement with England, that she would abolish the slave trade within five years. The same month saw three other princes restored to their thrones, when the aged Pius VII. returned to Rome, the ungrateful Ferdinand to Spain, and the bigoted Victor Emanuel to Turin: but as the political system of Europe had been intirely subverted, and now required great care and caution for its restoration, the confederated sovereigns determined to hold a general congress for this important purpose in the imperial city of Vienna.

History, in all its annals, cannot exhibit an assembly more splendid in the personages assembled, or more important in the subjects of debate, than this celebrated congress, at which two emperors, four kings, innumerable princes, grand dukes, and electors, together with the most famous statesmen and field marshals of the age were present. Its presiding spirit was prince Metternich, the tutelary genius of imperial Austria, the evil genius of imperial France, the chief statesman of restored Europe. This august council, after some previous preparations, assembled on the 1st of November, 1814; but its deliberations were soon interrupted by the re-appearance of Napoleon, who landed at Cannes, March 1st, 1815, with about 1500 men, and soon recovered his abdicated throne: but the prestige of his once formidable name was gone; for his power rested, not on the will of the nation, but on that of the army: which he now augmented with great energy, being well aware that no pacific proposals would be accepted. By a special act of the congress he was declared 'a common enemy of all nations,' and put out of the pale of the law: an alliance similar to that of Chaumont was concluded between the four leading powers, which every other European nation was invited to join; while a subsidiary treaty, as usual, was negotiated with Great Britain. The sum of all the contingents to be furnished, amounted to 1,057,000 men: but as it was well known that Napoleon would not wait for the union of these forces, an army of British, German, Belgian, and Dutch troops was speedily assembled under the duke of Wellington, to co-operate with the Prussians under prince Blucher; and the great victory at Waterloo sent the usurper, first to Paris with the news of his own defeat; and thence to the solitary island where he found a tomb.

After an absence of one hundred days, the French king returned to his capital, and renewed negotiations with the allied powers: but indemnification for the past, and security for the future was now demanded; and France agreed to pay the sum of 700,000,000 francs; to make a satisfactory adjustment of boundaries, by a cession of the four fortresses, Philipville, Marienburg, Saarlouis, and Landau, with that part of Savoy which still remained to her; and by a delivery of eighteen strong places on the north and north-east frontier into the hands of the allies, to be occupied by them for three years at least, and at the expense of France.

In Napoleon's fall his brother-in-law Murat participated: after some skirmishes, and vain endeavours to raise an insurrectionary spirit in Italy, he was driven by an Austrian force from the Neapolitan throne, to which the vile Ferdinand was restored; and having afterwards had the temerity to make a descent, with a few ragged followers, on the coast of Calabria, he was taken by the peasantry and shot as a rebel: affording a memorable instance of the vicissitudes of fortune. Some difficulties arose in settling the union of Sweden and Norway: which by the wise and skilful management of the crown prince, Bernadotte, were soon dispersed; and Charles XIII. was proclaimed king of the united realms November 4, 1814.

Second Section: Colonial affairs from 1804 to 1830.

The great convulsions and revolutions which agitated Europe, led to the independence of many colonial states, especially in South America: but the United States of the North underwent no constitutional change; though their territory, population, and revenues, especially after the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida, received a large increase; the number of states in the union advancing from seventeen to twenty-four. Party spirit among the democrats and federalists was strongly excited during the contest between France and England: but this gradually subsided, until it became almost extinguished by the attack of the British on the capital. States, like those of America, could not help being involved in contentions which partook so much of a commercial character; and collision with that country which had the chief dominion upon the ocean, was necessarily most violent: this, added to pre-existing causes of strife, and aggravated by an increasing oppression of navigation and commerce, brought on the *Non-Importation* Act, levelled against the introduction of British manufactures into the union. Negotiations took place; but differences increased,

until the *Embargo* Act of December, 1807, and the *Non-Intercourse* Acts of March, 1809 and May, 1810, interdicted all trade with England and France, until the orders in council of the former, or the anti-commercial decrees of the latter, should be revoked. Napoleon, by a partial abolition of his decrees, in April, 1811, as far as the United States were concerned, drew them closer to himself, and so estranged them from Great Britain that they were induced to declare war against that power, after a previous embargo laid on all her vessels in American harbors. The contest was prosecuted with various success; and ended, after the burning of Washington by the British, and their total defeat at New Orleans, by a settlement of boundaries on the side of Canada, to be afterwards adjusted by a commission; by a restoration of all conquests; and by a resolution of both parties to join in abolishing the detestable slave-trade. America derived advantage in this war, from a knowlege both of her strength and of her weakness, as well as from the direct impulse given to her manufactures and to her navy. With the return of peace, the navigation and trade of the republic spread themselves largely over the world; great works of internal improvement were commenced; while banking and commercial enterprises were carried on in so rash a spirit of speculation, as to bring down ruin upon thousands and to injure the national credit.

The fidelity of the British colonies of Canada and Nova Scotia was tried in the last contest with America; and notwithstanding the commotions subsequently excited in Canada by the old French inhabitants, abetted by American freebooters, whom their boasted federal government was as unable to restrain as it was unwilling to punish, Great Britain may firmly reckon on their allegiance; especially after the subsequent redress of grievances and the liberal concessions made by our government. 'Why, (says Heeren) 'should those colonies strive after independence which are already possessed of a free constitution, which suffer no religious constraint, pay no taxes, and see their colonization and trade becoming every year more and more florishing?' [9] If these expressions of the historian were applicable before the events above alluded to, how much more so must they be now!

In the southern continent of America a new state arose totally different from those of the North. The establishment of the Brazilian empire, immense in extent, and endowed with

[9] Heeren, vol. ii. p. 366.

the exuberant riches of Nature, was a consequence of the fate of the mother country already described. At the return of the king to Portugal, it was found impossible to reduce Brazil again to the state of a colony: by the meditation therefore of Great Britain, its independence was acknowledged in May 1825. Its constitution, given by Pedro I., provides that the government shall be monarchical and hereditary; with a general assembly, consisting of two chambers; that of the senators, nominated for life by the emperor, from a list submitted to him; and that of the deputies, elected by the people; the monarchical principle however is somewhat compromised, inasmuch as any legislative measure is to have the force of a law, even without the imperial sanction, if the latter be twice refused. In this vast empire religious and political freedom is subject to many restrictions; while the cultivation of its soil by slave labor, and its prosecution of the slave trade, in violation of good faith, has already led to unfriendly feelings and the disruption of commercial ties with Great Britain.

In Spanish America also, the peculiar condition of the mother country brought on various struggles for independence; first, against the usurpations of Napoleon; next against the juntas and regencies of Spain; and lastly, against the attempts at coercion, made by the restored king. The contest for equality of rights and freedom of trade continued, with varying success, against the outrages of viceroys and the barbarity of royalist officers, in Mexico, the Caraccas, New Granada, La Plata, Chili, and Peru: but the year 1821 brought it nearly to an end; and at the close of 1829 most of the insurgent and victorious provinces had either adopted republican constitutions, or were about to do so. Since that time they have found their greatest enemies within themselves; having been subject to perpetual revolutions, and massacres by ambitious chieftains; while the practicability of establishing democratic governments among nations where color determines the caste, and military commanders prescribe laws, or of uniting the liberty of the press with the exorbitant pretensions of the hierarchy, still remains a problem to be solved.

The West Indian colonies underwent no great change, except that having been for the most part conquered by the British, they were, with a few exceptions, restored by that nation at the general pacification. The insurrections in Spanish America did not extend to Cuba and Porto Rico; the important possession of the Havannas remained uninterrupted under the power of Spain; and the British were able to preserve

tranquillity in their own and the conquered islands, chiefly by the milder treatment of the negro population, after the prohibition of the slave trade. A remarkable change however, was experienced in San Domingo; where, after a successful revolution, the experiment of a black empire, with the adoption of European culture, titles, and other institutions, both civil and military, is a very striking phenomenon; while colonisation and foreign trade have made considerable advances through free laborers, who remain attached to the plantations, and receive a fourth part of the produce.

In Africa, the colony of the Cape was retained by England: and although violent collisions with the old Dutch settlers, like those with the French Canadians, have since taken place, yet colonisation there has increased to a great extent; while British and German missionaries have succeeded in promulgating Gospel truths among Hottentots, and even wild Caffres. The ultimate fate of other colonies, French and Portuguese, on the African coast, depends much upon the slave trade: and it remains to be seen whether they can florish under free labor. Sierra Leone, which was selected as an experimental colony on this principle, seems to make slow progress; and its noxious climate, so fatal to Europeans, renders a proper supervision of its institutions extremely difficult. Efforts, however, to penetrate into the interior of Africa have not ceased: a British resident has been stationed at the Court of a Negro monarch; the course of the Niger has been explored; and the discoveries of enterprising travellers have brought vast stores of information to bear upon the great questions of African civilisation, and the abolition of that inhuman traffic which has so long disgraced christian nations. The zeal of the British government in this cause, by declaring participation in that traffic a capital crime, and making its abolition a standing article in all treaties, together with its payment of immense sums, and its relinquishment of many advantages, to effect its object, would appear very surprising, did not the nation itself consider this a point of honour and of conscience.

The history of the East Indies, during this period, is almost wholly included in that of the British government there. All the possessions of other states fell into British hands; and wars with native princes eventually extended the company's territory to the Indus on one side, and the mountains of Thibet and the Birmese empire on the other; subsequently its dominion has received a still farther increase, especially by the cession of America, and by conquests in Scinde. Such aggrandisement

is generally considered in England as a thing to be deprecated: but conquerors cannot always set bounds to their career; especially where conquest is invoked as the highest blessing, by nations who are thus, and thus only, to be rescued from tyranny, rapine, and injustice: moreover a constant improvement in the British system of administration promises much for internal tranquillity; while the progress of steam and railway communication between all parts of our extensive empire is calculated to repel every external attack: nor is less encouragement held out to the religious world, by the success of christian missionaries in these benighted regions; and by the extension of our episcopal church. Moreover through her European wars Great Britain greatly enlarged her insular dominion in the east: taking from the French their important settlement of the Isle of France; and obtaining Cochin on the Malabar coast from the Dutch; while the possessions already ceded to her by the same people in Ceylon led to the conquest of that large and fertile island; where a colonial bishop has lately been appointed, and Budha already trembles on his throne. But as if to crown the efforts made by Great Britain for the advancement, not of universal dominion, but of universal good, Divine Providence has at length made her the instrument of opening China itself to European enterprise; and she has obtained the glory of conquering for the advantage of all nations.

In the continent of Australia also new prospects became unfolded. The British Settlements in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land prospered by the accession of free laborers; population and foreign trade increased; and important imports of wool began to repay outlay and expenditure. Mountains hitherto deemed inaccessible were subsequently explored, and roads constructed; while rivers, watering fertile plains, invited agriculturists, and relieved Great Britain in times of distress, by carrying off a considerable portion of her starving people. In the mean time the town of Sidney has begun to rival the great cities of Europe in splendor; and that of Bathurst is the grand starting place for the explorers of these vast regions: moreover the whole settlement has been taken under the maternal wings of the British church, by the appointment of a bishop, an archdeacon, and a considerable body of clergy. New Zealand, which for a considerable time appeared to be advancing in similar prosperity, has lately disclosed great evils in its management, which require remedial measures. On the Society Islands Christianity is still carrying on its peaceful

conquests, notwithstanding the gross, unjustifiable conduct of France toward Tahiti and its unfortunate queen. All around are seen the elements of a new order of things; of one grand political system, growing steadily out of the narrow colonial policy of Europe.

Section III.

Few tasks more glorious could be devised than a judicious restoration of the dismembered European states-system. A desire to effect this proceeded from the assembled monarchs themselves, founded on the experience which they had acquired; though most of its details depended on the views and sentiments of the ministers, and practised statesmen, to whom its execution was intrusted: thus a necessary security was obtained against the introduction of plans which could exist only in theory. 'But (says the philosophic historian,) that the powerful, and even the most powerful on earth, are always subject to the influence of the prevailing ideas of the age, has seldom been more strongly illustrated than in the present case. That princes and nations do not exist to make war on each other, unless forced by necessity; that states in forming a free political system, must mutually respect each other's independence; that the constitutions must be regulated by fixed laws; that a certain portion in the legislation, especially in taxation, must be conceded to the people through their representatives; that slavery and bondage are evils which must be abolished; that a legitimate share of freedom should be allowed to the communication of ideas by means of the pen and press; finally, and above all, that there is a connection between religion, policy, and morality, which is to be strengthened to the utmost degree—these were maxims either explicitly declared or tacitly acknowleged'—'favorable however as these circumstances were, every intelligent person could plainly foresee that there would be no want of obstacles; and that the edifice about to be reared would bear little resemblance to the ideal structures which so many had formed.' 'The restoration of the political system (as he goes on to observe) was in general founded on the principle of legitimacy:' the legitimate dynasties, that had been more or less dispossessed, were to be re-instated; but popular opinion, chiefly emanating from an admiration of the British constitution, was so strongly expressed in favor of constitutional monarchy, in which a representation of the people might be more or less developed, that such a form of government was assumed or promised by nearly all the states.

Among these there was scarcely one whose territory was not in a distracted state; and nothing but the reduction of France to her ancient limits, whence much would be placed at the disposal of the allies, could have rendered an adjustment possible; though in many cases a complete restoration would involve in it much injustice. As no general epoch would be established for all, a different one was taken for each of the three leading powers: with France it preceded the year 1792 —with Austria it was 1805—with Prussia 1806.

Germany, the great central power of Europe, is naturally the first to engage our attention: and what an aspect did it present, after having lost its peculiar form and spirit for ten years; circumscribed on every side; with its rights of possession altered and uncertain! The left bank of the Rhine, Holstein, and the Illyrian provinces, had been detached from it; the Prussian monarchy had been dismembered; Austria deprived of many old hereditary provinces; Saxony, with several smaller states, placed under administration; and the ephemeral kingdom of Westphalia dissolved. Much was requisite for reducing this chaos into order. A political union was loudly demanded, and after many difficulties obtained: the sovereign princes, and free cities of Germany, were formed into a confederation of thirty-nine states, leagued to maintain the internal and external security of each other, and agreeing to refer all particular quarrels to the decision of a diet of seventeen voices, to be assembled at Frankfort, under the presidency of Austria.

The territorial arrangements to be made with the two great German monarchies, was an affair affecting Europe as well as Germany. A restoration of the Austrian empire was effected chiefly by means of the dissolved kingdom of Italy and the Illyrian provinces; partly also by a return of the cessions made to Bavaria. The large accession of territory which fell to the lot of Austria, was said to have been obtained by the dexterity of Prince Metternich: the subsequent and anxious care of this statesman has been to consolidate the union of so many realms, varying in national character as well as in geographical position, and to impart something like harmony of feeling and action to the mass: as war and political convulsions are wholly adverse to such views, his aim and policy have been to prevent agitation, and to study an equilibrium of power; repressing every outbreak of liberal opinions; centralising the whole governing power in the capital; and reducing all ranks as near as possible to the state of political automatons.

A restoration of Prussia according to the statistical relations of 1805, could not be refused to a nation which had made such extraordinary sacrifices: here, however, many minor difficulties lay in the way; and a greater in the claims which she had to the Duchy of Warsaw; for the curse of Polish partitions still lay heavy on Europe. Prussia, attaching herself to Russia, now demanded, for her relinquishment of Poland, the whole of Saxony; whose monarch might be indemnified in Westphalia: but Austria, England, and France, united in supporting the Saxon House; and dangers of a rupture were apparent, until a compromise was effected by the division of Saxony; part of which was given to Prussia, together with a portion of Warsaw, and many important cities and districts on both sides of the Rhine.

We may pass rapidly over the territorial adjustment of other German states. Bavaria obtained compensation for its cessions to Austria, on the Rhine, the Maine, and the Neckar, &c. Wirtemburg and Baden remained without alteration; as did many smaller states; except that most of them received representative constitutions. Hanover was advanced to the rank of a kingdom, ceding to, and receiving portions of territory from, Prussia. The restoration, however, of the Netherlandic states, which have generally afforded an arena for continental war, became a principal point of policy: it was thought necessary, therefore, to form a powerful nation, by consolidating the Batavian and Belgic provinces under one sovereign; which, with its restored colonies, and an alliance with Prussia, might be strong enough to resist any external attack: the junction also of Belgian manufactures with Dutch navigation and commerce, held out bright prospects for this union; but all were destroyed by the personal character of the new sovereign and his advisers. Had William IV. then, or even at the commencement of the dissentions which dissolved this union, abdicated the throne to his son, rather than at a later period, much bloodshed would have been avoided, and the edifice wisely projected by the allied sovereigns against future encroachments on the Netherlands, might still have existed.

Great Britain, emerging, as she did, unscathed from the flames of war, had little to receive, but much to give up. Acting in this case with her usual magnanimity, she retained only Malta and Heligoland as European trophies—Tobago Santa Lucia, and Surinam in the West Indies—the Isle of France in the East—together with the protectorate of the seven

Ionian Islands. These possessions, however, added to that of Gibraltar, and the Cape of Good Hope, contributed greatly to the security of her naval power; to which, under Providence, the liberation of Europe is chiefly due. Her influence on the civilisation of the world, more glorious than her many victories, shone conspicuous in the general desire shown to make her free constitution, if not a model, at least an auxiliary in forming that of other states: her authority was also nobly exerted in promoting the abolition of the vile traffic in human beings, which has so long contaminated Europe; and if she had sent to this congress statesmen more steady to her own interests and less dazzled by the presence of royal and imperial personages, she might have secured commercial treaties far more advantageous to herself, while she advanced the interests and popular privileges of different nations. When we consider, however, what she then did, as well as what she has since effected, in aiding the struggles of patriotism; in generally discountenancing tyranny and oppression; in her efforts to unfetter trade and commerce; in her extraordinary advance in arts and science; in the salutary reform of her own institutions; in the liberality she has shown by removing so many disqualifications for civil offices from all classes; above all, in the establishment of so many societies for diffusing the blessings of Christianity throughout all nations; when we consider these things, I say, what a bright avenue appears opened to her in future! what an instrument does she seem to be in the hands of Providence for the furtherance of his benevolent designs! But the affairs of her great antagonist demand our attention.

The restoration of France to a high rank in the system was as necessary to other members of that confederacy as to herself: her extensive boundaries were determined by treaties; but she was left to choose her own constitution; a difficult task, yet well executed, under the auspices of a prudent monarch, who had profited by his residence in a land of liberty. 'It is now (says Heeren) for this nation to show, that they can bear freedom. Their history may excite apprehension; but if the French can bear it, what a future is opened to France! She no longer has an enemy in Europe, unless she is resolved to have one: the culture of her fertile soil is her chief source of acquisition, yet her manufacturing industry is not palsied: her free colonies no longer excite jealousy, and yet secure to her a share in the commerce of the world: but with a free constitution she has still an autocratic administration. Can these exist together? and will not the change of the latter be more difficult

than that of the former?'[10] This last question has been happily answered by the almost bloodless revolution which expatriated the tyrannical, bigoted, and priest-ridden Charles X., and placed the politic Louis Philippe on his throne. Surrounded by difficulties and dangers from within and from without, the present king of the French has hitherto conducted the affairs of government with consummate skill, and with a moral courage that never was surpassed. Taking advantage of the fierce and impetuous character of his fickle subjects, he has wisely allowed them to forge fetters for their own restraint in the fortifications which have been erected around Paris; and to this measure his dynasty may perhaps owe its firm establishment; since he has been unfortunate in losing his eldest son, who had endeared himself by many excellent qualities both to the army and to the people. His anxiety to preserve peace with this, as well as with other countries, can scarcely be doubted; though he seems obliged to propitiate the war party, which is very numerous in France, by conniving at acts injurious to British honor and interests in various parts of the world: this is unfortunate; but it is to be hoped that he may yet live to bring about a better understanding, and a closer intercourse, between two nations which ought to have no rivalry except in acts of friendship toward each other.

The restoration of the Swiss confederacy was intrusted to a special committee by the congress, which augmented it by the annexation of three cantons, and procured an acknowlegement of its perpetual neutrality. The territory of Geneva was somewhat enlarged at the expense of Savoy and of France; but the latter state received compensation by gaining such a bulwark placed before the most vulnerable part of her dominions. We have lately seen this confederacy shaken and disturbed by civil and religious broils, which give us no very favorable idea of the Swiss character; and foreign power has been already appealed to for the restoration of tranquillity.

Spain, at the fall of Napoleon, returned to the dominion of '*the beloved*' Ferdinand; but the cortes, who conducted the war, had framed a constitution, which undoubtedly gave too much power to the democratic principle: this the king not only refused to accept, but adopted the utmost rigor against its authors. Instead, however, of seizing the favorable opportunity to promulgate such a plan of government as might have suited his people, and which, after so many and great sacrifices,

[10] Vol. ii. p. 421.

they had a right to expect, he forcibly established despotic power, and supported that despotism by the inquisition, the army, the jesuits, and restriction of the public press. In consequence of this a secret ferment spread itself throughout the realm; the finances became involved; the revenue declined; trade and commerce languished; and public credit failed: yet under such a pressure of circumstances, an army was collected to reduce the revolted provinces in South America: but Spain was unable to pay or embark her troops; and the consequence was an insurrection among them, kindled by Riego and other leaders, with a proclamation of the liberal constitution; which Ferdinand was now obliged to accept. This state of things, however, militated too much against Prince Metternich's system to be endured; accordingly, at the congress of Laybach the duty of passing the Pyrenees with an army and restoring his despotism to 'the absolute king,' was delegated to the Duc d'Angouleme; who had no difficulty in reducing to subjection the undisciplined party opposed to his forces. The use made of his restored power by the vile monarch was to imbrue his hands in the blood of his victims; and at this time the principles of Lord Castlereagh were too prevalent in the British cabinet, to admit even of a remonstrance against such proceedings; nor was the voice of Wellington ever heard to plead for his old companions in arms; or to denounce the tyranny which has afflicted that Peninsula on which he gained his renown. The apostolical party, as it was called, adhering closely to Ferdinand, now became predominant; executions were daily exhibited; yet plot succeeded to plot; numerous emigrations took place; while general mistrust and poverty overspread this land of slaughter, as long as the tyrant lived; and before his death (by obtaining a revocation of the Salique Law in favor of his infant daughter), he contrived to entail upon his people such a train of ills as might make them almost forget those which they had suffered during his reign: a detail of these evils, augmented and prolonged by that evil genius of Spain, the French government, must be left to the future historian.

The course of affairs in Portugal after its restoration was for a long time quite as lamentable as in Spain. Her great transatlantic colony having become the seat of government, an insurrectionary spirit arose in the mother country, which caused a meeting of the cortes, and the promulgation of a constitution, leaving to the king, after his return from Brazil, little more than the shadow of power. This, however, was soon abolished by an insurrection of the troops, headed by the king's younger

son Don Miguel, one of the most degraded of human beings, who made an abortive attempt to dethrone his father, in May 1824; and finally was obliged to leave the realm. On the demise of John VI. in 1826, the eldest son Don Pedro, now Emperor of Brazil, nominated his daughter Maria da Gloria to be queen, under the regency of the Infanta Isabella for two years, and afterwards under that of Don Miguel. This monster, however, quickly caused himself to be proclaimed king by the cortes; and laying aside his favorite amusement of killing dogs, began to butcher his subjects by wholesale and to fill the loathsome prisons with state prisoners. Such conduct drew Don Pedro from his imperial seat to Portugal; and then began that civil contest, which, after so many excesses and so much misery, ended by the establishment of the present queen upon the throne of her ancestors: but the destruction of agriculture and commerce, the dilapidation of the finances, and the animosities of party, brought about by civil war, are evils not soon or easily to be repaired: accordingly Portugal still remains in a state little to be envied; showing at the same time a very unreasonable jealousy of Great Britain, her oldest ally and benefactor.

After the downfal of Murat, no obstacle existed against the restoration of Naples to the imbecile king Ferdinand; so the Two Sicilies became again united under one crown: but discontent, fostered by the noted sect of carbonari, prevailed so as to disturb tranquillity; and here also an armed power extorted from the monarch a liberal constitution; which, as the insurrectionary spirit spread toward the north, was quickly dissipated by Austrian bayonets; but without much bloodshed, since the Neapolitan troops fled at the very sight of the advanced guards of their antagonists. The power of Austria quelled also some revolutionary movements in Sardinia, whose territorial extent had been augmented by an incorporation of the Genoese republic. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany was aggrandised by an annexation of the Isle of Elba, and Modena restored to its ancient boundaries; while another Austrian Secundo-geniture was formed from the states of Parma and Piacenza, the ducal crown of which was placed on the imperial brow of Napoleon's consort; not however without a protest from Spain, who claimed it for Don Carlos, son of the Infanta Maria Louisa, formerly queen of Etruria. As the justice of this demand was acknowleged, the matter was settled by a compromise.

The states of the church were restored to the gloomy dominion of a weak and bigoted priesthood, the worst of all

governments;[11] and the Pope was reinstated in the possession of Bologna and Ferrara; Austria reserving to herself the right of keeping a garrison in the latter place; while France retained Avignon, against the solemn protest of the Roman court. Austria, having extirpated all remains of patriotism, and reduced Lombardy to an acquiescence in her really beneficent rule, finds employment for her troops, in coercing the other states of Italy, who may struggle against the iniquitous conduct of their oppressors.

A happy lot awaited the seven Ionian Islands, formed into a republic during the storms of war, and now, after many changes of what was called protection, placed under that of Great Britain; with the assurance of a free constitution, and the acknowlegement of a commercial flag. These promises were duly fulfilled; and the constitution itself was promulgated by the Lord High Commissioner, Sir Thomas Maitland, acting as the representative of his sovereign. In addition to this, a noble university has been founded in Corfu, principally through the exertions of that modern Atticus, Frederic North, late Earl of Guilford; which leads us to hope that the genius of ancient Greece may still be resuscitated in her regenerated sons. What locality can be more fit to inspire high and poetic sentiments in the minds of youth, than that which contains within itself scenes of Homeric interest, even the very birth-place of the hero of the Odyssey?

> For who so reckless of a glorious name,
> So dead to courage and so lost to fame,
> Unmoved that venerable turf can tread,
> Nor think he stands before the mighty dead?"[12]

Northern Europe, which had not been spared by the convulsions of the times, also engaged the attention of monarchs and statesmen in this celebrated congress. The great Scandinavian peninsula was brought under one sovereign, in consequence of the union of Norway with Sweden; Denmark

[11] Whilst monarchs and their ministers have been endeavouring to form a union of peace between the two churches in several countries, the Roman court has directed all its energies to enforce the authority and pretensions of the Vatican. One of its first measures was the re-establishment of the society of Jesuits, so instrumental in exciting the flames of hatred and discord in states; as France, Spain, Belgium, and even poor Tahiti, have found to their cost. A bull also was issued, in August, 1814, against bible societies, which were described therein as the most pestilent among human inventions.

[12] Wright's Horæ Ionicæ, p. 53.

renouncing her dominion over the former realm, and receiving Swedish Pomerania, which she afterwards exchanged with Prussia for the duchy of Lauenberg as far as the Elbe. The renunciation of Norway was scarcely to be regretted by Denmark, as this power had no inducement to restore her navy to its former magnitude: her own constitution remained unaltered; while the duchy of Holstein partially united her with the great Germanic confederation. Sweden obtained, by possession of Norway, full compensation for her losses in Finland; while Norway, herself, though at first reluctant to break the ties of ancient allegiance, found in her new monarch, renowned equally as a warrior and a politician, security for her external rights and her internal freedom. This union so advantageous to the two nations composing it, and at the same time so favorable to the liberty of Europe, may be regarded as the best specimen of political sagacity exhibited by the congress of Vienna.

But no state has issued from the great contest of nations more strengthened in the acquisition of territory and the spirit of its people than Russia. In the north she had been aggrandised by all Finland; in the south by Bessarabia, with part of Moldavia; and in the east by several provinces obtained from Persia; while Poland was united to her dominion at the peace of Vienna. A restoration of the wreck of this miserable country, comprising the greater part of the former duchy of Warsaw (except Posen, assigned to Prussia, and Cracow with its small domain, declared a free city), though brought under the imperial crown of Russia, obtained its own distinct and representative government: but a spirit was excited among its people, contrary to that of the Metternich policy; so the Russian autocrat, taking advantage of petty jealousies existing between France and England—of the countenance of Austria—and of the more open co-operation of Prussia, always base in her conduct towards the Poles—introduced his armies into the distracted state, and swept it from the map of Europe; slaughtering its defenders, confiscating its lands, and driving its nobles, without regard to age or sex, into Siberian exile, under the scourges of his Cossacks. Shame to civilised Europe, which could look unmoved on scenes like these! In the mean time Nicholas is endeavoring to carry out the principles of Prince Metternich and the holy alliance in the regions of Mount Caucasus; while British statesmen are viewing, with their usual apathy, all his attempts to subjugate the brave Circassians; whose fall, if it takes place, will loosen the

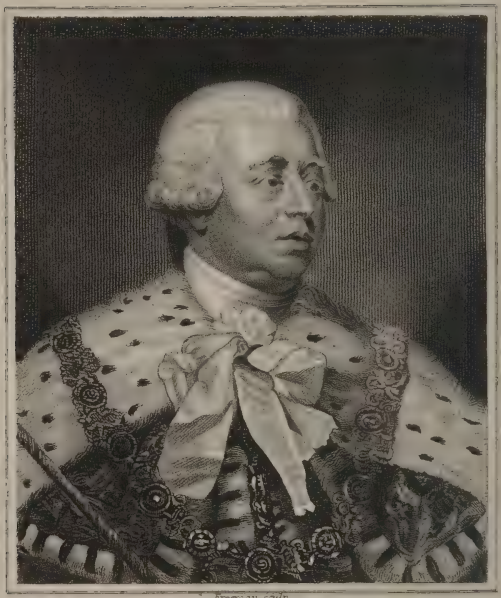
strongest barrier against intruders on our Indian empire. The late intrigues of the Russian cabinet in Persia and Herat, point out the direction of its eastern policy; although time is still requisite to strengthen and unite the different portions of this extensive empire, and enable it to act with destructive effect upon the general system: but Russian policy is most enduring; never outstripping opportunity; but waiting patiently for a future age to accomplish what the present may have failed to secure: such for example, has been its invariable conduct toward the Ottoman Porte, whose magnificent capital it always keeps in view.

This last-mentioned state, having kept generally aloof from the struggles of the great revolutionary war, lost nothing but the provinces already alluded to, in her contest with Russia; she therefore required little from the remedial hands of assembled statesmen. Her internal reforms, both civil and military, as well as her adoption of many European habits and customs, seemed for a time to indicate symptoms of returning vigor, and a renovation of her ancient spirit: but these proceeded more from the innovating policy of the late sultan, than from any change in the sentiments of his Moslem subjects; a vast portion of whom, especially those connected with religious offices, viewed them with unconquerable disgust: accordingly they were found to be a weak barrier against the advance of Mahomet Ali, with his Egyptian army; who, after having fixed himself on the ancient throne of the Pharaohs, would have quickly occupied that of the Byzantine emperors, had not the leading powers of christendom combined to prop up a government, which is the sworn foe of christianity, as well as the direct scourge of all people submitted to its sway: from him a guarantee to respect the rights of humanity might have been obtained; but his elevation militated against the principles of Metternich and the holy alliance, by whom the rights of the people are considered almost as dust or chaff, when compared with the privileges of established monarchs.

Thus was Europe once more brought under a States-System; which, if properly constituted and judiciously regulated, might be a most effective instrument to advance the reign of universal peace upon earth. Much was done by this celebrated congress in furtherance of so desirable an object; and more would have been effected but for the interference of selfish desires and deep-rooted prejudices, of an undue deference to power, and particularly of that principle of legitimacy which was adopted and carried out to its utmost limit, without proper checks or

correctives: hence those intestine feuds which have so long disturbed the continent—hence that feverish peace which has kept all European nations on the alert for war, and obliged them to expend, and in some instances to exhaust, their revenues, for the maintenance of fleets and armies. Happy would it have been for the world if, instead of that 'Holy Alliance' which emanated from the congress of Vienna, a grand council for the promotion of peace on the principles of equal justice had been instituted, to which all national quarrels might have been referred! The great Germanic confederacy has shown, on a smaller scale, the efficacy of such a scheme: why should it not be tried on a larger; especially as society seems ripe for its introduction? When, indeed, we reflect on the vast and important interests that have sprung up, and to which peace is of the utmost importance—the efforts made by noble-minded individuals and societies to promote universal peace[13]— the progress of education among the people,—and the zeal shown for diffusing on all sides the blessings of a religion which is pre-eminently a religion of peace, how greatly are we encouraged to promote the advent of that glorious epoch, when the words of the inspired penman shall be literally fulfilled, and 'nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more.' Providence seems to have placed in our hands a wondrous power which can almost annihilate time and space, as an auxiliary for this purpose. With its aid, nothing would be wanting to a coalition of sovereigns, steadily purposed to put down strife, by arbitrating with equity and justice between nations, or between subjects and their rulers. What state would oppose its puny force to a council which could bring the concentrated power of millions upon its frontiers in a week's time? And what spectacle which the world has ever witnessed could be compared with such a glorious tribunal? This would indeed be a Holy Alliance worthy of its name, worthy of the veneration of mankind, and the protection of the Almighty.

[13] England has the merit of first instituting a society for the promotion of universal peace, in the year 1816, from which stock numerous branches soon spread themselves over the realm. Her example has been followed in France, America, Belgium, and Geneva. Peace doctrines, supported by all sects of christians, and recommended in works of great merit, some of them distinguished by prizes submitted to general competition, are making great progress; and there is a hope that these philanthropic institutions may engage the attention of those who are able to carry their benevolent designs into full effect.



Freeman sculp

George 3rd.

George III

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

GEORGE III.—1760.

State of the country at the accession of George III.—Its prosperity due to Mr. Pitt—Aim of the new sovereign, in a change of system which he meditated—His coadjutor, the earl of Bute, unfitted for the purpose—Political problem of the interior Cabinet—Characters of the principal members of the cabinet at the death of George II.—Interview of the new king with Mr. Pitt, and with the privy council—His speech to the council—Proclamation of his majesty—Duke of York and lord Bute sworn members of the privy council—Parliament prorogued—Speculations of the public on the new reign—Address to the king—Bishop of London's letter—Meeting of parliament and king's speech—Parliamentary addresses in return—King's reply, and second address from the house of commons—Supplies voted—Civil list, and new disposition of the revenues of the crown—The king's designs known to Mr. Pitt, and opposed to his policy—Great objects of the continental war—Reasons, and preparatory measures, for the removal of Mr. Pitt from administration—Correspondence of lord Bute and Doddington—Subsidy voted to the king of Prussia—His victory at Torgau and its consequences—King's attendance at theatres, house of lords, and chapel royal—His excellent sentiments on Dr. Wilson's sermon—Political adulation rewarded—Tribe of political writers—State of manners, &c.

Few monarchs ever left to their successors a throne more glorious than that of George II.: all the sources of national wealth and prosperity were daily becoming developed; the people cheerfully concurred in supporting a just and necessary war; sea and land equally bore witness to the triumph of their arms: and their conquests in both hemispheres were so extensive, that the sun might have been said to rise and set

more jealous of political rivals, than the vainest woman of contemporary beauties, he had long struggled against the efforts

miserable: his mind can never be composed; his spirits are always agitated: yet this constant ferment, which would wear out and destroy any other man, is perfectly agreeable to his constitution: he is at the very perfection of health when his fever is at the greatest height.

'His character is full of inconsistencies; the man would be thought very singular, who differed as much from the rest of the world as he differs from himself. If we consider how many years he has continued in the highest employments; that he has acted a very considerable part among the most considerable persons of his own time; that, when his friends have been routed, he has still maintained his ground; that he has incurred his majesty's displeasure on various occasions, but has always carried his point, and has soon been restored both to favor and confidence; it cannot be denied that he possesses some qualities of an able minister: yet view him in a different light, and our veneration will be somewhat abated. Talk with him concerning public or private business of a nice or delicate nature, he will be found confused, irresolute, continually rambling from the subject, contradicting himself almost every instant. Hear him speak in parliament, his manner is ungraceful, his language barbarous, his reasoning inconclusive: at the same time, he labors through all the confusion of a debate without the least distrust of his own abilities; fights boldly in the dark; never gives up the cause; nor is he ever at a loss either for words or argument. His professions and promises are not to be depended on, though at the time they are made he often means to perform them; but is unwilling to displease any man by a plain negative, and frequently does not recollect that he is under the same engagements to at least ten competitors. If he cannot be esteemed a steady friend, he has never shown himself a bitter enemy; and his forgiveness of injuries proceeds as much from good nature as it does from policy. Pride is not to be numbered among his faults: on the contrary, he deviates into the opposite extreme; and courts popularity with such extravagant eagerness, that he frequently descends to an undistinguishable and illiberal familiarity. Neither can he be accused of avarice or of rapaciousness; for though he will give bribes, he is above accepting them; and instead of having enriched himself at the expense of his master or of the public, he has greatly impaired a very considerable estate by electioneering, and keeping up a good parliamentary interest; which is commonly, though perhaps improperly, called the service of the crown. His extraordinary care of his health is a jest even among his flatterers: as to his jealousy, it could not be carried to a higher pitch if every political friend was a favorite mistress. He is in his sixty-fourth or sixty-fifth year, yet thirsts for power in a future reign with the greatest solicitude; and hereafter, should he live to see a prince of Wales of a year old, he will still look forward, not without expectation that in due course of time he may be his minister also.'

made by Pitt and Fox to participate in the administration of public affairs: his aim was not to be prime, but sole minister; and he endeavored to make those two illustrious statesmen, as he had made others, irresponsible delegates, to manage the house of commons under his dictation.[2] Such ridiculous attempts ended of course in his own discomfiture; he was obliged to admit a rival into a share of his beloved power, and to confer the whole management of foreign affairs on Mr. Pitt as secretary of state.

This veteran statesman, who by his vast parliamentary interest was enabled to control even majesty itself, was embarrassed in manner, verbose in conversation, eager to engage in business, but so little fitted to execute what he undertook, that the earl of Wilmington's sarcastic but jocose remark appeared perfectly applicable; 'that he lost half an hour every morning, and ran after it all the rest of the day, without being able to overtake it:' yet his princely fortune and liberal expenditure, the disposal of all secret service money, as well as of crown patronage, which Mr. Pitt allowed him to retain, his experience in matters of state policy, and a certain degree of skill in managing parliamentary debates, together with his uniform zeal for the house of Hanover, rendered him a powerful coadjutor: but, again, his fretful and capricious temper, his prodigality of professions and forgetfulness of promises, his alternate servility and arrogance, and his total want of manly spirit, detracted so much from the merit he possessed, that, to use the words of another contemporary, 'though he spent half a million of money, and made the fortunes of 500 men, he was not allowed to have one real friend:'[3] yet this man was head of the great whig aristocracy; and under his banners were ranged the powerful families of Cavendish, Lennox, Manners, Fitzroy, Bentinck, Wentworth, Conway, and others.

His chancellor of the exchequer was Mr. Legge, a younger son of lord Dartmouth, sent forth, like many other younger sons of family, to better his fortunes in the public service. He had formerly served in the navy, but quitted it to become the confidential secretary of sir Robert Walpole. Though strongly attached to Mr. Pitt, he early paid his court to lord Bute, and obtained a lucrative post under government,

[2] When he could not succeed in this insane project, he sent his creature sir Thomas Robinson to act the part; on which occasion Mr. Pitt is reported to have said, 'he may as well send his jack-boot to govern us.'

[3] Dr. King's Anecdotes, p. 109.

which he unwillingly gave up for the chancellorship of the exchequer. 'The meanness of his appearance,' says Horace Walpole, 'and the quaintness of his dialect, made him as improper for it as unwilling.'[4] But though he was not eloquent, he was accustomed to digest his thoughts well, and to deliver them with precision and perspicuity; particularly when the subject had a reference to the public revenue, with the details of which he was remarkably well acquainted.

A principal supporter of Mr. Pitt in the cabinet was his brother-in-law, lord Temple, head of the Grenvilles, who held the privy seal. Though possessed of fair abilities, he exhibited so much self-importance as to diminish the respect to which his station entitled him; and he made himself an object of extreme dislike to the old king, by his unpleasant manners and address.[5] In 1759, presuming on his alliance with Mr. Pitt, and knowing the necessity which the nation had for that great man's services, he boldly demanded the order of the garter; and being refused, gave up his office, with the expectation of drawing Mr. Pitt after him; but being disappointed in this, and finding that his conduct met with general reprehension, he was easily induced to resume his post, and was soon gratified with the decoration he so much coveted.

Mr. Fox, afterwards lord Holland, was paymaster of the forces: he had ever been a stanch friend and supporter of sir Robert Walpole, and was strongly attached to the duke of Cumberland: he once contended with Mr. Pitt himself for superiority, and by a series of political manœuvres obtained a short-lived triumph; for he was appointed secretary of state under the duke of Newcastle in November, 1755; but after holding the office one year, he was obliged to retire, having failed in a coalition, which he proposed to his haughty rival, by whom it was disdainfully rejected. He seems to have soli-

[4] Memoirs of George II., vol. i. p. 336.

[5] Lord Waldegrave gives the following account of George II.'s remarks on Mr. Pitt and lord Temple:—'He then expressed his dislike to Pitt and lord Temple in very strong terms; the substance of which was, that the secretary made him long speeches, which possibly might be fine, but were greatly beyond his comprehension; and that his letters were affected, formal, and pedantic: that as to Temple, he was so disagreeable a fellow that there was no bearing him; that when he attempted to argue, he was pert, and sometimes insolent; that when he meant to be civil, he was exceedingly troublesome; and that in the business of his office he was totally ignorant.'

cited his present employment with a submission bordering on servility, 'professing that he would not offend in thought, word, or deed:'[6] but his reckless profusion rendered the acquisition of office so desirable to him on account of its perquisites, that he could never lay claim to the honorable title of a patriot. 'Both Newcastle and Pitt,' says Horace Walpole, 'acted wisely in permitting him to enjoy this place; for he was tied up from giving them any trouble; and while serving for interest under Pitt, how much did he exalt the latter!' He was nevertheless a man of penetrating genius, and of great activity in business: his speeches, though deficient in that charm of eloquence which distinguished those of Pitt, were full of information, method, and good sense; while his efforts were generally directed to carry the question, not to exalt his own reputation.

Another member of administration, occupying an inferior department, but destined soon afterwards to fill the highest place, was Mr. George Grenville, next brother to lord Temple, and treasurer of the navy; whose character has been thus drawn by the powerful hand of Burke:—'With a masculine understanding, and a stout, resolute heart, he had an application undissipated and unwearied; he took public business, not as a duty to fulfil, but as a pleasure to enjoy; and he seemed to have no delight out of the house, except in such things as related to the business that was to be done within it. If he was ambitious, I will say this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous strain: it was to raise himself, not by the low, pimping politics of a court; but to win his way to power through the laborious gradations of public service; and to secure to himself a well-earned rank in parliament, by a thorough knowlege of its constitution, and a perfect practice in all its business.'

The presidency of the council was committed to the celebrated earl Granville, who had been called to the helm of state when it was resigned by sir Robert Walpole; but was himself removed by the Pelham interest in 1745. He was a man of brilliant talen s and commanding eloquence, equalled by few, and surpassed by none of his noble contemporaries: as a war minister and diplomatist, he was an able precursor of the earl of Chatham, who in the latter part of his career bore willing testimony to his great merits and splendid attainments. He had now taken office with views different from those which he entertained in the ardor and impetuosity of youth; and he

[6] Horace Walpole's Memoirs of George II., vol. ii. p. 225.

rather endeavored to direct and moderate the designs of his colleagues, than to propose and forward any of his own.

The great seal was at this time held by lord keeper Henley,[7] a man well read in the common law, of an acute understanding and energetic mind, who subsequently played a conspicuous part in the political drama, when elevated to the rank of lord chancellor and earl of Northington. He had obtained his high dignity by the force of unforeseen political combinations, and had taken advantage of the embarrassment of ministers in disposing of the great seal, by demanding the reversion of a tellership in the exchequer for his son, with a pension of £1500 a year till it should fall; 'seeing,' as Horace Walpole remarks, 'that it was the mode of the times to be paid by one favor for receiving another.'

Lord Anson, who, to the surprise of many, had been recalled by the present ministry to the head of the admiralty, still kept that station. Being content to follow implicitly the directions of his leader Mr. Pitt, who knew the extent of his abilities, he had recovered the popularity which he lost by his ministerial incapacity, when left to his own guidance. Though much blame was attached to this noble lord for the loss of Minorca, yet it cannot be denied, that the British navy owed him a large debt of gratitude, as a great reformer of its abuses, and encourager of its improvements. Both when he commanded at sea, and when he presided over the admiralty, he was laudably zealous and impartial in his selection of officers; rejecting all applications which proceeded only from interested motives, and uniformly declaring, that, if he was to have the responsibility of actions, he would have the free choice of agents.

Lord Holderness held the seals of home secretary; respecting whom, the sarcasm of Horace Walpole, directed against him when attending George II. in Germany, is probably not far from the truth; 'that he was unlikely to soar from the abject condition of a dangling secretary to the dignity of a remonstrating patriot.'[8] He was in fact a decided time-server; a selfish politician, and guilty of great ingratitude toward his royal master; nor does he appear to have been respected or esteemed by his colleagues and the public.

[7] Not being a peer, he could not defend his own decrees in chancery, when brought before the house of lords. Mr. Nicholls thinks that some of his decisions were injudiciously reversed.—Recollections, vol. ii. p. 122.

[8] Memoirs of George II., vol. i. p. 395.

The attorney general was Charles Pratt, afterwards earl Camden, one of the most independent of judges, and most honorable of statesmen. In neither capacity did he allow himself to be swayed by mere party feelings, or to compromise his conscience for the sake even of appearing consistent; but in all the relations of public life, he uniformly supported the free principles of our constitution, without any servile regard to popular favor, or to the opinions of a court. His eloquence was of the colloquial kind; but though his language was plain, his speech was fluent, his arrangement clear, and his manner very persuasive. He was admirably versed in the fundamental laws of England, which he regarded with great respect, and supported with equal ability.

The secretary at war was lord Barrington, chiefly known to fame through the virulent abuse with which he was assailed by the unprincipled author of Junius's Letters; but since shown, by his own authentic correspondence,[9] to have been very incorrupt and impartial in his official capacity; a supporter of unprotected merit, and a fearless opposer of that profligate abuse of patronage, by which public men of his day were so shamefully distinguished. He manifested perhaps too great an anxiety to retain office and its emoluments; by which he was suspected of being influenced, when he declared that he adhered to measures rather than to men. 'In the inventory of the discarded minister's effects,' says Junius, 'lord Barrington is always set down as a fixture.'

The duke of Devonshire, as a powerful and distinguished member of the whig aristocracy, skilled in the knowlege of persons and parties, contributed to give dignity and consistency to the cabinet, while he held the office of lord high chamberlain. He was greatly esteemed by his contemporaries; and his conduct in difficult or delicate negotiations was intitled to praise and admiration.

Lord Gower, another influential nobleman, but inclining more to the tory party, supported ministers in return for his office of master of the horse: this the duke of Dorset had been induced to resign, for a pension of £3000 per annum added to his salary as warden of the cinque ports.

The chief governor in Ireland was the duke of Bedford, of an illustrious whig family, but connected by marriage with the tories: he appears to have been naturally honest in his intentions, assiduous in business, and respectable by his parlia-

[9] Published by his brother, the late bishop of Durham.

mentary talents; but impetuous in temper, and easily governed by artful persons, who knew his weaknesses, and turned them to their own account. In 1744 he presided over the admiralty, and had the merit of bringing forward those excellent officers, Keppel, Howe, and Rodney, In 1748 he became secretary of state, and continued so till 1751, when he accepted the vice-royalty of Ireland. Being very powerful with his party, he figured conspicuously in the changes of administration during the early part of this reign.[10]

With regard to the great man who was the life and soul of this administration, and in praise of whom almost every source of eulogy has been exhausted, he entered his political career in opposition to sir Robert Walpole, and soon distinguished himself by his intellectual faculties and extraordinary powers of elocution: so great indeed was Mr. Pitt's success at his first onset, that the minister could scarcely listen to, or look on him, without alarm; and Sir Robert was frequently heard to express strong apprehensions of 'that terrible cornet of horse,' in allusion to his military profession: he is said to have unwisely gone so far, as to stop the young officer's promotion in the army; but for this loss, Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, who entertained an inveterate hatred of sir Robert Walpole, made

[10] Horace Walpole thus describes the commencement of his vice-regal government—'The Duke of Bedford set out for that kingdom on the twentieth of September, determined, as he thought, to observe a strict neutrality between the factions and rigid uprightness in the conduct of his administration. He began with exacting strict attendance on their posts from persons in employment, and with refusing leave of absence to officers and chaplains of regiments; and considering too how his new dominions had been loaded of late years, to smoothe the difficulties of the English government, his grace commenced his reign with strong declarations against Irish pensions. He had two difficulties to encounter before these fair views could be carried into execution: his own court was far from being so disinterested as their master, and his new subjects were so little desirous of a reign of virtue; nor had the duke himself the art of reconciling them to it by his manner, which was shy, untractable, ungracious, and ungenerous. The duchess pleased universally: she had all her life been practising the part of a queen; dignity and dissimulation were natural to her: the Irish were charmed with a woman who seemed to depart from her state from mere affability: but the person who influenced them both was the secretary Rigby: he had ingratiated himself with the duchess, and had acquired an absolute ascendant over her husband, who, with all his impetuosity, was governed by his favorite in a style that approached to domineering.'—Memoirs of George II., vol. ii. p. 253.

him full compensation, by a legacy of £10,000, avowedly on the ground of his public services. He continued in opposition till the organization of the Pelham ministry: and in 1746 was appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland, and paymaster of the forces; but the king's antipathy to him, on account of his acrimony in censuring continental alliances and German subsidies, prevented his introduction into a more responsible office, until the irresistible superiority of his talents 'took the cabinet, as it were, by storm;' and on the formation of a new administration in 1756, he obtained the place of secretary of state, which Mr. Fox was obliged to resign: yet the growing discontent of the nation against the ministry, the intrigues of public men, the opposition of the duke of Cumberland, and the antipathy of the king to Mr. Pitt, who was then connected with the party of Leicester-house, soon drove him from power: but after the formation of a new ministry had been attempted, and no leader could be found, the foreign secretary was recalled by the general voice of the people; and on the twenty-ninth of June, 1757, he resumed his place as actual head of that cabinet, the component members of which have been just described. His genius then shone forth with unclouded splendor: the king soon discovered that he was not that factious demagogue, represented to him, in whose hands the continental interests of Great Britain would be ruined, and its monarchical constitution endangered; but that his accession to office was calculated to restore cordiality between the monarch and the heir apparent, to reconcile conflicting parties, and to invigorate the national councils by that energetic wisdom and good fortune, which ever distinguished this illustrious statesman.

Though the cabinet was composed, for the most part, of the duke of Newcastle's adherents and those of Mr. Fox; yet the irresistible genius of its leader preserved union and consistency among its members. His own ministerial influence too was considerably strengthened by that partiality with which the tories now began to regard him; a partiality, founded principally on their detestation of Fox, but which he dexterously augmented by distributing commissions in the militia among their party; thus contriving to restore them to public confidence without suddenly transferring them to ministerial power: but by these means he was unconsciously forwarding those very plans of George III. and lord Bute, which eventually removed him from the administration.

The ambition of this great statesman was, to raise his country above all other powers, and to elevate himself by her exalta-

tion. Like a man of decided genius, he placed implicit confidence in his own talents, and therefore became frequently impatient of contradiction: he possessed from nature every external requisite for commanding respect; his manly figure and his eagle eye fixed the attention of all the moment he arose; and there was a kind of fascination in his look that few were able to withstand: his eloquence was of the ornamental kind, armed with the bitterest powers of sarcasm and invective; but as he did not excel in close reasoning, he generally chose to commence the debate;[11] and his custom was, to rush at once on his subject, which he would illustrate in ready glowing language, set off by bold and original conceptions: his words indeed appeared to speak conviction, as flowing from the source of truth and genius.[12] Such, according to the best authorities that exist, were the principal traits in the characters of those statesmen whom George III. found in possession of ministerial power on his accession to the throne.

The morning after his grandfather's decease, which occurred on the twenty-fifth of October, the king, accompanied by lord Bute, proceeded from Kew to St. James's palace, where he

[11] This is the observation of Horace Walpole.

[12] As Fox and Murray, afterwards lord Holland and the earl of Mansfield, were his rival orators, the reader will not be displeased by the following parallel from the lively pen of Horace Walpole:—

'Pitt, illustrious as he was in the house of commons, would have shone still more in an assembly of inferior capacity: his talents for dazzling were exposed to whoever did not fear his sword and abuse, or could detect the weakness of his arguments: Fox was ready for both: Murray, who, at the beginning of the session, was awed by Pitt, finding himself supported by Fox, surmounted his fears, and convinced the house, and Pitt too, of his superior abilities: he grew most uneasy to the latter. Pitt could only attack; Murray only defend: Fox, the boldest and ablest champion, was still more formed to worry; but the keenness of his sabre was blunted by the difficulty with which he drew it from the scabbard; I mean, the hesitation and ungracefulness of his delivery took off from the force of his arguments. Murray, the brightest genius of the three, had too much and too little of the lawyer; he refined too much, and could wrangle too little for a popular assembly: Pitt's figure was commanding; Murray's engaging from a decent openness; Fox's dark and troubled: yet the latter was the only agreeable man: Pitt could not unbend; Murray in private was inelegant; Fox was cheerful, social, communicative. In conversation none of them had wit: Murray never had; Fox had in his speeches, from clearness of head and asperity of argument; Pitt's wit was genuine, not tortured into the service, like the quaintness of my lord Chesterfield.'—Memoirs of George II., vol. i. p. 490.

found the foreign secretary; who presented him with a paper, on which were written a few sentences, that might serve, as it was hinted, for the basis of an address to the privy council. The young sovereign courteously thanked Mr. Pitt; but added, that he had already considered the subject, and adjusted the materials of his intended speech. Here then was a certain indication of the confidence reposed by the new monarch in lord Bute: but the jealous attention paid by that nobleman, during the last four or five years, to the heir apparent, and the ascendency which he thereby gained over his mind, was well known to Mr. Pitt and to others. The council met at Carlton-house; and the king, though at first agitated and embarrassed by the novelty of his situation, soon acquired sufficient confidence to address them with a grace and dignity, unexpected from one whose manners were timid and retiring, and whose education had been in many points very defective.[13] As soon as the members had taken the customary oaths of fidelity to their new sovereign, he expressed a deep sense of the loss sustained by the nation, and of his own insufficiency to support, as he wished, the load which fell on him at so critical and unexpected a juncture: 'but,' said he, animated by the tenderest affection for my native country, and depending on the advice, experience, and abilities of your lordships, as well as on the support of every honest man, I enter with cheerfulness into this arduous situation, and shall make it the business of my life to promote in everything the glory and happiness of these kingdoms, to preserve and strengthen the constitution

[13] Even the cynical Horace Walpole says of the king at this time, 'that he had all the appearance of being amiable, with great grace to temper much dignity, and good nature, which broke out on all occasions.' Lord Bute, who, on occasion of the prince's first establishment, had the appointment of groom of the stole, was an excellent scholar, and from his instruction the king obtained, though at a later period of life than is usual, many acquirements befitting the character of a gentleman. His mother's great care had been to keep him clear of the vices of the age; and therefore she never promoted his acquaintance with the young nobility; but when George II., with whom his grandson was no favorite, declared that he was 'fit only to read the Bible to his mother,' he unintentionally paid him a high compliment, considering the general turn of princes, and especially of heirs apparent. In the matter of his education, dissentions in the family led to frequent resignations by governors and preceptors, which could not be favorable to the progress of a youth in his studies; nor do the selections of teachers appear on the whole to have been made with judgment.

in church and state; and, as I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary war, I shall endeavor to prosecute it in the manner most likely to produce an honorable and lasting peace, in concert with my allies.' This declaration was ordered to be made public, at the request of all the members present: they also witnessed two instruments relating to an oath which is taken by the king at his accession, for the security of the church of Scotland: such act being required on this occasion by the treaty of union, in compliance with presbyterian jealousy. The English are content to wait for the sanction of a coronation oath.

His majesty was next proclaimed with all due solemnities; and on the ensuing day, October 27th, having held a council, at which the duke of York and lord Bute were sworn in as members, he prorogued parliament to the thirteenth of November, and afterwards to the eighteenth.

During this interval, public attention was engaged by the equipment of a large squadron of men-of-war and transports at Portsmouth, as well as by speculations on the future reign, from which the happiest results were generally anticipated. The tories looked with pleasure on the prospect of that proscription being removed which had so long excluded them from office; more indeed on account of their aversion to the corrupt and spiritless administration of Walpole and the Pelhams, than their partiality for the house of Stuart, which most of them had discarded; to that party, which was desirous of peace, the pacific disposition of the sovereign, and the confidence he reposed in lord Bute, gave fresh spirit and hopes; while few were found, who did not hail with satisfaction the accession of a prince born and bred among the people, acquainted with their language, manners, laws, and institutions; and whose predilections were almost of necessity in favor of his native country. Loyal and dutiful addresses, expressing these sentiments, were accordingly presented to the young monarch by the city of London, the two universities, and the body of people called quakers, whose pacific inclinations accorded well with his majesty's opinions at this time. To these, and numerous others which followed in quick succession, the king returned brief but suitable replies, declaring his determination to respect their rights and conciliate their esteem. The venerable bishop of London,[14] now tottering on the brink of eternity, addressed a letter, as a part-

[14] Dr. Sherlock.

ing benediction, to his sovereign, from which the following is an interesting extract:—'You, sir, are the person whom the people ardently desire; which affection of theirs is happily returned by your majesty's declared concern for their prosperity: and let nothing disturb this mutual consent; let there be but one contest, whether the king loves the people best, or the people him: and may it be a long, a very long contest: may it never be decided; but let it remain doubtful; and may paternal affection on the one side, and filial obedience on the other, be had in perpetual remembrance.'

On the day when parliament assembled after its prorogation, the king opened the session with a speech, announcing not only the state of public and domestic affairs, but also the general principles by which he intended to regulate his government. One of its clauses was well calculated to confirm the satisfaction felt by the people at a circumstance always to be desired in a regal succession, but which was now become rather a novelty with regard to the British crown:—'Born and educated in this country,' said his majesty, 'I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne; and I doubt not, but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolution to adhere to and strengthen this excellent constitution in church and state, and to maintain toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the valuable prerogatives of my crown; and as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the divine favor on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue.' After mentioning the successes of Great Britain and her allies, her military and naval forces, and the state of her commerce, he proceeded as follows:—

'In this condition I have found things at my accession to the throne of my ancestors: happy in viewing the prosperous part of it; happier still should I have been, had I found my kingdoms, whose true interest I have intirely at heart, in full peace: but since the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous designs of my enemies rendered the war both just and necessary, and the generous overture made last winter toward a congress for pacification has not yet produced any suitable return, I am determined, with your cheerful and powerful assistance, to prosecute this war with vigor, in order to obtain that desirable ob-

ject, a safe and honorable peace. For this purpose, it is absolutely incumbent on us to be early prepared; and I rely on your zeal and hearty concurrence to support the king of Prussia and the rest of my allies, and to make ample provision for carrying on the war, as the only means of bringing our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation.' Then, addressing the house of commons on the subject of supplies, he concluded his speech in the following terms:—'The eyes of all Europe are on you; from your resolutions the protestant interest hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preservation of their independency; and our enemies fear the final disappointment of their ambitious and destructive views: let these hopes and fears be confirmed and augmented, by the vigor, unanimity, and despatch of our proceedings. In this expectation I am the more encouraged, by a pleasing circumstance, which I consider one of the most auspicious omens of my reign. That happy extinction of divisions, and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongst my subjects, afford me the most agreeable prospects: the natural disposition and wish of my heart are to cement and promote them; and I promise myself that nothing will arise on your part to interrupt or disturb a situation so essential to the true and lasting felicity of this great people.'

In answer to this speech, addresses were unanimously voted by both houses, breathing the warmest spirit of duty and affection, while they signified a hearty concurrence in all his majesty's sentiments and wishes. 'Animated by that duty,' said the lords, which we owe to your majesty, and by our zeal for the honor and interest of these kingdoms, we give your majesty the strongest assurances that we will cheerfully support you in prosecuting the war; assist the king of Prussia, and the rest of your allies; and heartily concur in all such measures as shall be necessary for the defence of your majesty and your dominions, and for the national and important ends which you have so fully laid before us.' The expressions of the lower house were still more explicit and energetic:—'We assure your majesty,' said they, 'that your faithful commons, thoroughly sensible of this important crisis, and desirous, with the divine assistance, to render your majesty's reign successful and glorious in war, happy and honorable in peace, (the natural return of a grateful people to a gracious and affectionate sovereign,) will concur in such measures as shall be requisite for the vigorous and successful prosecution of the war: and that we will cheerfully and speedily grant such supplies as shall be

found necessary for that purpose, and for the support of the king of Prussia, and the rest of your majesty's allies; and that we will make such an adequate provision for your majesty's civil government, as may be sufficient to maintain the honor and dignity of your crown with all proper and becoming lustre.'

To each of these loyal declarations his majesty returned a gracious answer: that to the house of commons was even deemed worthy of a second address of thanks; the supplies for the ensuing year, amounting to £19,616,119, were cheerfully voted; and the civil list was fixed at £800,000, the king consenting to such a disposition of the hereditary revenues of the crown as might best promote the public advantage. Whether indeed the exchange of an hereditary revenue, for one which makes the monarch a pensioner dependent on his parliament, be advantageous to himself or to the country, may fairly be questioned: certainly, at this time, it manifested a want of foresight in George III., or rather his advisers; being quite at variance with their designs of changing the system of administration, and extending the prerogative. Such designs, although discreetly veiled in his majesty's communications to parliament, had not escaped the notice of discerning politicians; much less could Mr. Pitt have been ignorant of them, since every favorable allusion to the king of Prussia, and every spirited expression regarding the prosecution of the war, were alterations in the king's speech made by Mr. Pitt's authoritative suggestion; being at variance with his majesty's declared sentiments, and with the secret views of his confidential adviser. The great minister indeed felt that his own reputation, as well as the glory of his country, was at stake: he himself had concerted and enlarged the original plan of the war with the Prussian king, under the sanction of George II. and of the British parliament: he anticipated the happiest results, if this nation should continue to aid its great continental ally; but on the other hand, if England should withdraw her pledged assistance, and leave Prussia to be dismembered by France and Austria, he foresaw that a disruption of all ties in the great federative system of Europe must necessarily ensue.

The defence of Hanover might have been the leading motive in George II.'s mind, when he engaged in a continental alliance, as it was made the point of attack by a set of common-place statesmen and discontented politicians, when they declaimed against this apparent partiality of the monarch for his native dominions, and against our paying so large a sum of money to

the king of Prussia for fighting his own battles: but the penetrating and sagacious mind of Mr. Pitt saw the evils which must inevitably result to Great Britain, if the unnatural combination of France and Austria should be successful; and that such evils could only be prevented by great sacrifices on our part. Hitherto victory had inclined to the side of justice; but it was with the utmost difficulty that Frederic, with such slight assistance, could make head against his mighty antagonists, aided, as they were, by the tremendous power of the semi-barbarous Russians: none of those providential interpositions had yet occurred, which might have rendered a relaxation of our exertions at this time less objectionable.

It can scarcely be doubted that George III. had been led to consider his grandfather's policy as eminently injurious to British interests: he himself had never been in Hanover; and therefore could not have acquired that partiality which proceeds from early habits; nor could he have been instructed by those about him in the ulterior objects of the contest, into which they themselves were unable to penetrate: he must therefore have considered himself as promoting the good of his native country, when he disclaimed all German alliances, and sought to bring about a separate peace: it is also probable that he viewed Mr. Pitt in the unfavorable light of a renegade, seceding from the principles of Leicester-house, and joining the Pelham confederacy in the prosecution of a continental war. That great minister, however, still adhered to his adopted system of foreign policy, even at the risk of losing the king's favor, and his place in the administration.

At present, his removal would not have been convenient for lord Bute; but intrigues were already set on foot to effect it at a proper season, and to displace every other member of the cabinet, whose prejudices or opinions might interfere with the changes meditated. Only a few days after the meeting of parliament, his lordship declared to Mr. Doddington, that lord Holderness, like a servile court sycophant, 'was ready, at his desire, to quarrel with his fellow ministers, go to the king, and throw up in seeming anger; and then he, lord Bute, might come in, without appearing to displace any body.' 'I own,' says Doddington,[15] 'the expedient did not please me;' and his lordship, acquiescing in this opinion, refused to creep into the ministerial inclosure through such a gap: but, that the two friends still took counsel together on this important affair,

[15] Diary, p. 370.

appears by a letter from Mr. Doddington to lord Bute, dated December 22, 1760, in which he advises 'that nothing be done that can be justly imputed to precipitation; nothing delayed that can be imputed to fear.' 'Remember,' says he, 'my noble and generous friend, that to recover monarchy from the inveterate usurpation of oligarchy is a point too arduous and important to be achieved without much difficulty, and some degree of danger; though none but what attentive moderation and unalterable firmness will certainly surmount.' Very early in January, lord Bute told his confidant, 'that Mr. Pitt meditated a retreat;' and on the sixteenth of the same month a letter from Doddington[16] imparts to his noble correspondent the following information:—'If the intelligence they bring me be true, Mr. Pitt goes down fast in the city, and faster at this end of the town: they add, you rise daily. This may not be true; but if he sinks, you will observe that his system sinks with him, and that there is nothing to replace it but recalling the troops and leaving Hanover in deposit.'[17] On the sixth of February, lord Bute declared, 'it was very easy to make the duke of Newcastle resign; but who was to take his place? he therefore did not think it advisable to begin there.' Doddington replied; 'that he saw no objection; but if he, lord Bute, thought there was, he might put it into hands that would resign it to him, when he thought proper to take it.'[18] No farther evidence is wanted to show that the plan of overturning the Pitt administration, and changing its system of policy, was in agitation at this time: whether that plan was good or bad, is a different question: at present however all ill humours were concealed under a fair surface: the old system seemed to please every party; and among the large supplies voted by the house of commons, none were more warmly recommended, none more freely granted, than continental subsidies; especially that of £670,000 to the king of Prussia.[19] His great victory at Torgau, which subjected all Saxony, except Dresden, to his power, had been opportunely

[16] Diary, p. 377.

[17] A passage in the Diary, of the same date with this letter, says, —'lord Bute came and said, that he was now sure that Pitt had no thoughts of abandoning the continent, and that he was madder than ever.' Another passage, (p. 383,) says, very justly, 'lord Bute's notions about the war are very singular, and I believe not thoroughly digested.'

[18] Diary, p. 387.

[19] The annual treaty, or convention, between the courts of London and Berlin, was renewed on the twelfth of December.

made known in England just before the meeting of parliament: this advantage was a full compensation to him for the great losses he had sustained during the campaign: Laudohn abruptly raised the siege of Cosel, and evacuated Silesia; the Russians abandoned that of Colburg for a time, and retreated into Poland; while the Swedes were driven back with great loss out of Western Pomerania.

On the second of December some alarm was excited on account of the king, who had fallen from his horse, which reared as he was mounting him in Hyde-park; but his majesty having been bled, recovered sufficiently to attend Covent-garden theatre in the evening, to see the tragedy of Hamlet. On the ninth and twenty-third he went to the house of lords, where he gave his first assent to several acts prepared for that purpose; and on the evening of the latter day he again gratified his loyal subjects, by appearing among them at Drury-lane, to see another of the tragedies of our immortal bard.

Christmas day was kept as a high festival at court; and after a sermon by the archbishop of York, his majesty received the Sacrament from the bishop of Durham, presenting a byzant, or wedge of gold, for the benefit of the poor. On the subject of preaching before royalty, the sentiments expressed by the king, soon after his accession, are too admirable to be passed over in silence: they were drawn from him by the fulsome strain of adulation in which several clergymen, more especially Dr. Thomas Wilson, with singular bad taste and feeling, addressed a monarch, who in the presence of his Creator seems never to have considered himself above the lowest of his subjects. Instead of thanks, the reverend orators received a serious reprimand, together with an assurance, that the king 'went to church to hear God praised, and not himself.' The sequel of this affair exhibits a melancholy instance of the weakness of human nature: Dr. Wilson, instead of profiting by the seasonable reproof, and endeavoring to regain the king's good opinion, with the approbation of his own conscience, pretended to turn patriot; took every opportunity of annoying his sovereign; and at last became a supporter of the demagogue Wilkes.

It is to be regretted that George III. did not extend his hatred of adulation to political sycophants: the grant of a pension to such a character as Dr. Shebbeare, who had stood in the pillory for scurrilous libels against his grandfather's government, was an act which added no lustre to his reign. The proceedings of parliament above related, though generally

popular, did not escape severe censure from the tribe of political writers, who now began to emerge from their lurking places. Presently the whole pack, snuffing the gale, found out where the game was, which they were expected to pursue; and opening their mouths, set off in full cry after the noblest quarry within the confines of the realm.

Before we advance further in the narration of public affairs, let us take a brief view of the manners and customs, as well as of the moral and religious principles prevailing at this period: such a retrospect, in the present altered state of society, may be neither uninteresting nor uninstructive.

With regard then to the social habits and manners of our countrymen, about the middle of the last century, we may remark generally, that upon a large remnant of that licentiousness which disgraced the times of Charles II., was engrafted a certain coarseness of demeanor which characterized the reigns of our two first Hanoverian monarchs. Immoderate indulgence in the pleasures of the table, especially in the use of wine, punch, and other intoxicating liquors, pervaded the higher ranks, and descended with certain modifications to all below them. This vice, added to an inveterate habit of mingling profane oaths and obscene jests in common conversation, as well as in epistolary correspondence, impressed foreigners with a very unfavorable opinion of our national character, which they did not fail to express. Gambling also existed in a lamentable excess; to the allurements of which passion, as well as of a misdirected spirit of conviviality, men sacrificed health, fortune, talents, and all the higher pleasures of social intercourse. Convivial parties met principally for dinner: but very soon after that important meal, the lady guests were always expected to withdraw, leaving their uncourteous lords to Bacchic revelry; over which they rejoiced in giving public and private toasts, recounting their perils in the pursuit of hares and foxes, discussing objects of local interest, and disputing on topics of political contention, or the feuds of electioneering parties. At a late hour in the evening, they adjourned to the drawing-room in a state very unfit for more refined conversation.

It may perhaps be said, that the defective system of female education at this time, failed in giving that charm to the sex which now renders them the great ornament of society. Could this excuse be fully sustained, the men themselves might have been justly blamed for neglecting to educate their daughters, and to procure for them those intellectual acquire-

ments which make them interesting as companions, without detracting from any useful qualities: the accusation however is only partially true; though certainly too much time was then occupied in needle-work, domestic economy, and even frivolous pursuits: but in native talent our fair countrywomen never were deficient; and even at the period under consideration, numerous were the examples of women who carried intellectual culture to a very high pitch: such however usually confined themselves to select *coteries*, into which they admitted only a few sober and distinguished men: by the generality of their countrymen, they were regarded as objects of alarm, if not of disgust; being designated by an appellation which still attaches itself to literary ladies, as if to perpetuate the memory of those semi-barbarous times.

If we allow that the education of girls was defective, much more so was the system pursued with regard to boys. At the public schools especially, little else was taught except classical literature, and even that very superficially: modern languages were generally neglected, and a correct style in our own was only acquired by a few, and that in after-life; the rudiments of science were considered as fit only for mechanics; the duties of morality and religion were rarely, or carelessly, inculcated on the tender mind; whilst so little restraint was placed on the growing passions, that the vices which distinguished the man might be said to have been fostered in the boy.

When a youth left one of these seminaries, for a wider field of action in either of our universities, he went from bad to worse: for there a more lax state of discipline left him, in the most dangerous period of life, almost wholly master of his time and conduct:[20] whilst the lecturing system was notoriously defective and unattractive, the excitements to emulation were comparatively small: and that strict impartiality, which now

[20] It is quite sufficient to quote on this subject one passage from the Diary of the celebrated earl of Malmsbury. 'The two years of my life,' he says, 'which I look back to as most unprofitably spent, were those I passed at Merton. The discipline of the university happened at this particular moment to be so lax, that a gentleman commoner was under no restraint, and never called on to attend lectures, or chapel, or hall. My tutor, an excellent and worthy man, according to the practice of all tutors at that time, gave himself no concern about his pupils; and I never saw him but during a fortnight, when I took into my head to be taught trigonometry. The set of men with whom I lived were very pleasant, but very idle fellows: our life was an imitation of high life in London,' &c.—Vol. i. p. 9.

distinguishes those seats of learning, was nearly unknown. Those among the more wealthy students, who after their academical course, visited foreign countries, merely ran through the circle of European courts; brought back their prominent vices, and adopted habits and manners which rendered them singular or ridiculous in the eyes of their own countrymen: thus were they distinguished by having made 'the grand tour.'

Wretched as was the state of society in the capital, how much worse did it appear among the country gentlemen, closely confined to their rural districts by the difficulties and tedious modes of travelling, while they were driven by a want of intellectual tastes to vicious indulgences and violent excitements! Rude and boisterious among themselves, they became too often tyrannical and oppressive toward their inferiors; more especially when armed with the powers of magistracy, unchecked by that public opinion which is now so easily disseminated through the press. Yet even a justice of the peace, after sending a transgressor of the laws to prison for poaching or theft, saw no disgrace in meeting his associates at a cock-fight or a bull-baiting, for the purpose of making bets upon the dying struggles of lacerated and infuriated animals. Can any unprejudiced mind fail to rejoice in the present state of society, when contrasted with that which existed in what are called the 'good old times' of our forefathers!

With regard to dress, neither of the sexes had left off those ungraceful, anti-classical habiliments, which had come down from previous ages. The well-known costume of Garrick, when he performed the character of Macbeth, or Julius Cæsar, in a periwig, a formally cut coat, an embroidered waistcoat with flaps reaching to the knees, velvet breeches, silk stockings, and buckled shoes, might serve as a specimen of full dress for the men; while that of the other sex, with their head-dresses largely spread out and built up on high, their hoops, furbelows, and flounced trains, may be seen, developed to its full extent, in the figure of queen Charlotte, as portrayed by Gainsborough.[21] Two hours were commonly employed in thus torturing and disguising the fairest objects of creation; among whom also the use of rouge was very general, and an encaustic method of enamelling the face not uncommon. No person, male or

[21] Horace Walpole, in his letters, observes, that lady Harriet Vernon quarrelled with him, for smiling at the enormous head-gear of her daughter. 'She came,' says he, 'one night to Northumberland-house with such a display of friz, that it literally spread beyond her shoulders.'—Vol. iv. p. 493.

female, with any pretensions to gentility, would have appeared at this period in society without a well-powdered head, loaded with as much fine flour as would have supplied a meal to some starving mendicant: indeed it was computed that the British army alone (for even our soldiers were obliged to bedaub their heads with grease and flour) wasted in this manner more of the staff of life than would have fed the inhabitants of our smallest county. This very absurd custom, introduced from France, was soon abolished in that country by the revolutionary toilette; in England it lingered on, until it yielded to the pressure of scarcity, aided by a tax, from which Mr. Pitt, in the early part of the French war, derived no inconsiderable revenue.

If the general habits of the upper classes were such as have been described, it may readily be conceived what rough specimens of humanity were exhibited by the lower orders, who resist innovations, and retain their native rust, for a much longer period: indeed they had undergone but little alteration since the times when Fielding and Smollett introduced such rude portraits into the scenes of their entertaining novels. Drunkenness among them was so general, as hardly to be considered a vice, though one from which so many others flow: accordingly robberies and murders were of such frequent occurrence, that our roads, as well as the streets and precincts of our towns, became more dangerous than those of Lisbon or Aleppo. So rude was the character of our peasantry, that no objects of art or utility, if publicly exposed, could escape destruction or mutilation: at the same time so great was their contempt and hatred of other nations, arising probably from their notions of superior civil liberty, that a defenceless foreigner could not appear among them, without danger of being maltreated: yet very few were instructed in the first rudiments of reading or writing: education for the multitude was unknown and unthought of: even the slight machinery of a Sunday school had not yet been introduced into the realm; so that, as no means were employed for teaching children their duties, they were necessarily left to be coerced by the beadle's wand, or the justice's warrant: this latter instrument usually consigned offenders to a prison, where confinement itself occasioned much positive suffering, whilst a want of classification, inspection, and instruction carried moral contamination among them to its highest pitch.

Neither had those arts, which, by ministering to the comforts and luxuries of life, tend to civilize a community, advanced much beyond their infancy. That mighty engine, which, after

the splendid inventions of Watt, Stephenson, and other ingenious mechanicians, now performs such wonders, was then comparatively powerless, encumbered with huge wooden beams, working solely by the principle of exhaustion, exerting only a perpendicular action, and employed in nothing but the drainage of mines: power-looms were then unknown; but after the tedious process of a single shuttle, urged by the weaver's hand, coarse cloths much inferior to those of Saxony or France, and silks which would not bare a comparison with those of Lyons or Genoa, were produced at high prices, and in very limited quantities: whilst our ladies procured muslin from India, lace from Brussels, and linen from Holland.

Nor was agriculture more advanced than arts and manufactures. The farmer understood very little about the nature of soils, or the best system of cropping. Having worked his land until its powers became exhausted, he trusted almost wholly to a fallow for repairing them: turnips were rarely grown out of gardens; and sheep, since discovered to be the great fertilizers of a soil, instead of being folded in the fields, were left to range over barren tracts, which were thought unfit for any other purpose. Agricultural implements also were unwieldy or inconvenient, and their management as ill conducted: even the plough, which now scarcely ever requires more than two horses and a man to work it, then had a man to guide the machine, and a boy to drive its team of four and often six horses.

Private roads and bye-ways might have been denominated sloughs of despair; whilst our highways themselves were not unfrequently in a similar state. The stage-coach, with its unwieldy bulk, its drunken driver, its rude box and wicker-basket, both without springs, came jogging along at about the average rate of four miles an hour;[22] and the passengers had scarcely left off the custom of making their wills before they commenced a journey: indeed the state of the country, where enclosures were rare, and extensive forests abounded, seemed a temptation to highwaymen, by the facilities of escape which they afforded: nor could a traveller approach the confines of Hounslow, Bag-

[22] The road from Norwich to Attleborough is said to have been the first turnpike-road made in this kingdom, in the year 1707. In the Norwich Gazette, 1733, notice is given, that 'On Thursday or Friday the sixth or seventh of June, 1734, a coach and horses will set out for London, from Mr. Thos. Bateman's, in St. Giles's parish, in Norwich, and perform the same in three days. Note, the said coach will go either by Newmarket or Ipswich, as the passengers shall agree.'

shot, or any other of those numerous heaths, which have now disappeared under the influence of civilization, without serious apprehension of losing his purse, or being stripped of his apparel. Hence the gallows-tree was seldom unoccupied; and the sight of executions became a common source of amusement to classes far removed above the vulgar:[23] indeed so vitiated was public taste in this respect, that the closing scene of a felon's life often bore some resemblance to a triumphal procession, in its passage from Newgate to Tyburn; during which the occasional stoppages at public-houses, the treatment of a criminal at the place of execution, the disgraceful contention for his clothes, and even for the drapery of his scaffold, marked a very low degree on the scale of public morals.

How indeed could decency and morals be expected to rise high when their only true foundation, religion, was so low? when the clergy of those days, as thousands still living can testify, differed but little from the laity in dress; in amusements; in habits and manners; nay, even in many prevailing and fashionable vices![24] when the beautiful service of our church was too often slurred over with careless indifference! and when the tame insipid discourses delivered from the pulpit, generally dwelt more on topics of heathen morality than on scriptural doctrines; and drew arguments, precepts, and examples rather from the Jewish law and history than from the great fountain of Christain faith! What was it but this laxity of morals, this dearth of religious feeling in our national church, which called forth those ardent reformers, Wesley and Whitfield, a very short time before the period which we are considering, to light a flame upon the Christian altar? The rapidity with which that flame, when once lighted, spread among the dry wood and weeds of a spiritless community, showed its mighty power; and its usefulness has since appeared in the produce of the soil thus prepared for culture by its purifying influence.

To the state of things thus feebly sketched, we may add—that our boasted constitution itself required a stimulus to put it into a state of progress. By the revolution and bill of rights, by acts which settled the civil list, the standing army, and the duration of parliaments, with many others, freedom was much advanced; but several questions concerning the liberty of the subject, the privileges and reform of parliament, the laws

[23] See the Memoirs of George Selwyn, *passim.*

[24] See again Memoirs of George Selwyn; and indeed of all the celebrated men of those times which have been published.

of libel, and courts of justice, still remained to be defined and settled: moreover certain severe and galling tests, or disabilities, on account of religious differences, required amendment; while various pains and penalties, still existing under the act of toleration, claimed attention from our legislators. Nor did the forms, powers, and laws of our church establishment less urgently demand reform: witness the abuse of ministerial, episcopal, and private patronage, which occasioned the non-residence of incumbents in almost half the parishes of England; when the cure of souls so often depended on votes, given or obtained, for an electioneering candidate; when our prelates, having obtained the mitre as a reward of political subservieney, and to serve political purposes, too often considered the patronage of their sees solely as the means of enriching relatives and connections, independently of any higher motives; and when the most ignorant, stupid, or vicious youth in a family was destined for the church preferment in its gift, because he was thought unable to make his way in any other profession.

Few characters were better calculated to assist in remedying such abuses as have been described than that of George III.; who, though he had many faults and foibles, possessed many virtues and good qualities to counterbalance them. When he saw his way clearly, he was generally among the first to promote what was useful and to discountenance what was pernicious: witness his early proclamations against vice and immorality, then so prevalent, and his proposal for the independence of the judges, also his exertions for encouraging the fine arts, scientific discoveries, and useful institutions, which will be recorded in these pages: but if any innovation seemed to infringe on the kingly prerogative, endanger the safety of the state, or shake the foundation of our established church, then the obstinacy of his resistance was not to be overcome; and he was more ready to abdicate his throne, than to violate the dictates of his conscience. Thus the machine of government was prevented, at a dangerous period, from running down hill too rapidly: time was given for mature deliberation; and no alterations, under the name of improvements, were made without the necessity for them becoming apparent: many such were often agitated during his protracted reign; and many were left unestablished until the grave had long closed over his remains. Such was the monarch whose career we are about to describe; and if we contemplate the perilous times in which he lived, and compare his upright character, with the meanness, insincerity and profligacy of contemporary sovereigns, we may see good cause for honoring the memory of George III.

CHAPTER II.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1761.

Grant of £300,000 to the Americans—Act relating to insolvent debtors—Lord chancellor appointed—Judges made independent of the crown—Unpopular duty laid on beer—Riots at Hexham—Speaker of the house of commons retires—Parliament prorogued and dissolved—Preparatory measures for an alteration of system—Earl of Bute appointed secretary of state, and other changes—Mr. Pitt continues in office—Military operations: capture of Belleisle and Dominica—Chastisement inflicted on the Cherokees—Siege and capture of Pondicherry—The great mogul's invasion of Bahar, in conjunction with Mr. Law—Defeated and taken prisoners—Treatment of Mr. Law—M. Lally's treatment in France—Operations of the war in Germany—Frederic's distress—His defence of Silesia—Capture of Schweidnitz by Laudohn and surrender of Colburg to the Russians, derange his plans—Operations in Westphalia and Hesse—Battle of Kirchdenkern—Subsequent operations, without any important result on either side—Inclination of France and the other allies to peace—Maria Theresa alone repugnant to it, but consents to a general congress at Augsburg—Proposals of a separate treaty between France and England—Negotiations respecting it—Interference of Spain—Policy of France and her allies obstructed by the talent and spirit of Mr. Pitt—Discussion still kept up—Mr. Pitt receives intimation of the family compact—Instructions given to the English ambassador at Madrid—Negotiations on the subject with the court of Spain—Spanish explanations unsatisfactory to Mr. Pitt—He proposes to seize their galleons and declare war—His advice being rejected by the English cabinet, he and lord Temple resign—His interview with the king—Receives the reward of his services—Changes in the ministry—Opposite opinions on Mr. Pitt's conduct—His popularity increases—Address of the city of London to the ex-minister—The king determines to marry—Method taken to procure an eligible consort—Princess Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz chosen—The king's declaration of it to the council—Preparations, &c. to bring the queen over to England—Lands at Harwich—Received at St. James's—Marriage ceremony—Appearance of their majesties in public—Coronation—Civic feast at Guildhall, &c.—Meeting of the new parliament—Speaker chosen—The king's speech—Addresses—Settlement on the queen—Repeal of the compelling clause in the insolvent act—Supplies, &c. for 1762—Debates on them and the German war—New ministry determine to carry on the war with spirit—Lord Halifax meets the Irish

parliament—His speech, and addresses in return—Negotiations with Spain respecting her secret treaty with France—Explanation demanded, and refused—Mutual departure of the ambassadors—Memorial of the conde de Fuentes—Answered by lord Egremont—His majesty purchases Buckingham-house, and presents it to the queen—Death of eminent men.

The first public act which distinguished the new year was a parliamentary grant of £300,000 on the twentieth of January, which enabled his majesty to make some compensation to the North American colonies for the expenses incurred by them during the war: nor was this more than was due to their merits in the vigor and despatch with which they had raised troops, and co-operated with the British armies. An act was also passed to relieve insolvent debtors, with whom the prisons in various parts of the kingdom were crowded: by it every such debtor might be compelled to deliver on oath a just schedule of his estate; after which delivery, and the surrender of all effects, he could demand his release and discharge: but this humane provision of the legislature became so much abused by the arts of fraud and collusion, that it was soon afterwards repealed.

On the sixteenth of January lord keeper Henley delivered the great seal to his majesty, and received it back, with the title of lord chancellor: he had been kept in office against the will of the late monarch, but enjoyed the full confidence of his present master. Toward the close of the session, March 3, his majesty advanced in popularity by the recommendation of a liberal and patriotic measure from the throne. In the reign of William III. it had been enacted,[1] that the commissions of the judges should be made out, not as formerly, during pleasure, but during the faithful discharge of their duties; so that it might be lawful to remove them on the address of both houses to the king: still at the demise of the crown their offices were vacated; and Geo. II. actually refused to renew the commission of a judge who had offended him. His majesty, therefore, with laudable zeal for the impartial administration of justice, recommended that farther provision should be made for continuing them in office, at the commencement of a new reign, without the necessity of a new commission. Parliament not only passed an act for this purpose, but expressed a lively sense of the wisdom and liberality of the measure.

Very soon after his majesty's accession, the earl of Bute,

[1] Statutes at Large, 13 William III. c. 2.

though he held no responsible office, attracted to himself a considerable share of public attention; and as it became manifest that he was destined to occupy an important place in the administration, his conduct was proportionally subjected to jealous scrutiny. To raise the large supplies necessary for the current year, the principal expedient had been, to fund a loan of £12,000,000, and provide for the interest by an additional duty of three shillings on every barrel of strong beer. This unpopular tax, which was imputed to lord Bute, excited a violent clamor among the lower classes, and caused some insults to be offered to that nobleman: serious riots also had broken out a short time previously at Hexham in Northumberland, on account of the ballot for the militia, which was considered an intolerable grievance by the lower orders. Being assembled in great numbers, and a part of them provided with arms, shots were fired on a battalion of the Yorkshire militia, drawn up to protect the magistrates, by which an ensign and two privates were killed. This outrage so exasperated the military, that they retaliated by several volleys on the multitude, killing more than forty, and wounding a much larger number. Some of the rioters were tried by a special commission, and one was executed for the sake of example.

As the natural dissolution of parliament was now at hand, Mr. Arthur Onslow, who had been speaker thirty-five successive years, declared his intention of retiring on account of age and infirmities; when a vote of thanks to him for his impartial conduct, courteous demeanor, and unshaken fidelity, was unanimously carried, together with an address to the king, beseeching him to confer some signal testimony of favor on the right honorable gentleman. His majesty expressed in very gracious terms the high sense he entertained of the speaker's character and services; and a pension of £3000 per annum was conferred on him, with a reversion to his son, who was afterwards ennobled by the title of baron Onslow. On the nineteenth of March parliament was prorogued, after a speech from the throne, expressing his majesty's complete approbation of its acts; but a dissolution did not occur till the month following.

Some time before this event, a certain party in the state began to think that cirumstances would authorise them to commence that gradual change of ministers and of policy, which they had long contemplated. Lord Rockingham informed Mr. Nicholls, that about the end of February he received a message from the duke of Newcastle, requesting an interview; and that on his entering the room, his grace ran up to him, and said, 'We

have received a message from the king of great importance: he wishes that the earl of Holderness should resign the place of secretary for the northern department, receiving in lieu of it the wardenship of the cinque ports: and that the earl of Bute should be appointed secretary in the place of the earl of Holderness.' When this subject was discussed, the earl of Hardwicke strongly recommended a compliance with the king's desire, without any opposition: adding, 'that this was the first instance in which he had interfered in the nomination of ministers; and that resistance to his wishes might excite an ill-will, which they would afterwards regret.' The marquis said, that he himself rather objected; and urged them to consider, whether, 'if they admitted, in February 1761, that the earl of Bute was fit to be secretary of state, they could say, in the following year, that he was not fit to be prime minister?' But the earl of Hardwicke's opinion prevailed, and lord Bute was appointed secretary;[2] for which purpose the earl of Holderness resigned office, and received his bribe in a large pension, added to a reversionary grant of the wardenship of the cinque ports.[3] Lord Halifax, being advanced to the vice-regal office in Ireland, was replaced at the board of trade by lord Barrington: the duke of Richmond, displeased by a military promotion injurious to his brother, resigned his post as lord of the bed-

[2] Nicholls's Recollections and Reflections, vol. i. p. 7.

[3] Even Mr. Adolphus acknowledges, that 'the retreat of lord Holderness appears to have been a preconcerted manœuvre, arranged with more art and duplicity than becomes an exalted character, to make room for lord Bute.' Hist. of George III., vol. i. p. 23. The reader will not be displeased to see an account of these ministerial arrangements given by a principal performer. 'Our administration is at last settled; I think well settled in the main; and my opinion is that it will last. Our friend Holderness is finely in harbor: he has 4000*l.* a year for life, with the reversion of the cinque ports, after the duke of Dorset, which he likes better than having the name of pensioner. I never could myself understand the difference between a pension and a sinecure place. The same strange fortune which made me secretary at war five years and a half ago, has made me chancellor of the exchequer: it may perhaps at last make me pope: I think I am equally fit to be at the head of the church, as of the exchequer. My reason tells me, it would have been more proper to have given me an employment of less consequence when I was removed from the war office; but no man knows what is good for him. My invariable rule therefore is, to ask nothing, to refuse nothing, to let others place me, and to do my best wherever I am placed.' Letter from lord Barrington to A. Mitchell, Esq., in Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. iv. p. 432.

chamber; but Mr. Legge was unceremoniously dismissed;[4] and was succeeded by Sir Francis Dashwood, a man of infamous morals, but a zealous tory. Some other changes of minor importance took place, such as the introduction of several tories into offices connected with the court: a considerable addition also was made to the peerage. These alterations could not be very agreeable to Mr. Pitt; but as he was still suffered to direct the affairs of the war, he was not so discontented as to relinquish office: disdaining however to court a party, he stood almost alone, with little support, except what resulted from his successful career and his unrivalled eloquence.

The naval and military operations of this year are now to be described. The channel fleet under sir Edward Hawke had kept its station through the winter in Quiberon Bay, blockading the enemy's ships, until the second of January; when by favor of a dark night and blowing weather they slipped out, and effected their escape into Brest. Sir Edward then returned to England early in March, leaving a sufficient force to watch their motions along the western coast. On the 29th of this month, a secret expedition, which had been for some time in a state of preparation, sailed from Spithead, under commodore Keppel and general Hodgson, and arrived off Belleisle, on the coast of Brittany, in ten days. An attempt to land, on the eighth of April, was defeated with a loss of nearly 500 men: it was however renewed on the twenty-fifth, and succeeded, chiefly through the exertions of brigadier-general Lambert, who gained possession of some heights overhanging the sea, and gallantly repulsed the enemy sent to dislodge him: this enabled the British troops to disembark, and commence the siege of Le Palais, the chief town of the island. The vigorous and gallant defence made by the French commander, St. Croix, protracted the fall of the citadel, a strong fortress constructed by Vauban, till the seventh of June; when it surrendered by capitulation, and a sterile rock was found to be the fruit of our conquest, at the expense of nearly 2000 lives. It was however a place of importance to France, commanding a large extent of coast, and affording a very convenient receptacle to privateers: accordingly, it was insisted on as a valuable article of exchange in the subsequent negotiations for peace.

[4] Mr. Belsham assigns a reason for this dismissal not very honorable to the character of the king; but supports the charge by no evidence. There is however an account of the life of Mr. Legge in the Gentleman's Magazine for December, 1764, which throws some light on the subject.

The more important island of Dominica in the West Indies was reduced with much less difficulty by a small armament under lord Rollo and sir James Douglas. Soon afterwards a severe but well-merited chastisement was inflicted by the British troops on the ferocious tribe of Cherokee Indians, who had been instigated by the French to attack our American colonies. Sir James Douglas and colonel Grant, at the head of 2600 men, ravaged their country and compelled them to sue for peace. In the Mediterranean our cruisers under sir C. Saunders were remarkably active; taking a number of merchant ships and small armed vessels, as well as the *Oriflamme*, of 50 guns, the *Achille*, of 64, and the *Bouffon*, of 32. Several captures were made on the Jamaica station, where the *Hampshire*, *Boreas*, and *Lively*, fell in with a convoy under five French frigates, two of which were taken, and two destroyed; the other escaping into Port au Paix. The *St. Anne*, a new 64-gun ship, with a valuable cargo of indigo, being also taken, was purchased into the British navy.

In the East Indies, Pondicherry was the only place of consequence which remained in possession of the French at the end of last campaign; and that was invested by a land and naval force under colonel Coote and admiral Stevens: the besieged made a gallant defence, expecting the arrival of naval succors; but being attacked by famine, they were reduced to the necessity of feeding on the flesh of camels, elephants, and even of dogs. On the first of January, a violent storm dispersed the British fleet, and inspired them with hopes of relief: the admiral, however, exerted such diligence, that in four days he appeared again before the place with eleven ships of the line, having lost two in the tempest: the case of the besieged now became desperate; yet no offer of surrender was made, until a breach in the wall being effected, and only one day's provision of any sort remaining, a signal was made from the town for a suspension of arms; but as M. Lally the governor refused to acknowledge any kind of capitulation, and sent forth a paper full of violent invectives against the English as breakers of all treaties respecting India, the city was taken by storm on the fifteenth of January. The dependency of Thiagar, with the strong fortress of Gingee, soon afterwards surrendered; and Mahie, on the Malabar coast, fortified with above 200 pieces of cannon, had been reduced by a body of troops, which landed there in January, under major Hector Munro. The council of Madras lost no time in levelling to the ground the fortifications of Pondicherry; and the French power in India was gone. An

attempt was made to revive it in the province of Bengal, but without a chance of success.[5]

About the middle of the preceding year, an adventurer named Law, nephew of the celebrated projector, being at the head of 200 French fugitives, persuaded the mogul, Shah Zaddah, lately seated on his father's tottering throne, to invade that province: he had already rendered such important services to the new emperor against some native princes who opposed his elevation, that nothing was thought able to resist his arms. He now made incursions into Bahar, which suffered in consequence so severely, that major Carnac was sent in January to Patna, to command the British troops there, amounting to 508, and assist the rajah Ramnarain in opposing the invader. Accordingly, this officer advanced with his Asiatic allies, in number about 20,000, against the mogul, then stationed at Gyah Maunpore, with 80,000 natives. In three days Carnac reached his place of encampment, forced an engagement, and completely routed his army, taking him captive with his rash adviser, Law. The latter was treated by his captors in a manner which greatly exalted them in the estimation of the orientals.[6] Very different was the fate which attended the

[5] The count d'Estaing was the only French adventurer in the east who effected any conquests to counterbalance the great advantages gained by the English: he had for some time been roving about the Indian seas with two frigates, and had lately attacked and reduced Bencoolen, Tappanopoli, and Fort Marlborough, in the island of Sumatra; but these exploits were a disgrace rather than an honor to him, being at this time a prisoner on parole.

[6] It is interesting and delightful, says Mr. Mill on this subject, to hear the account of the native historian. 'When the emperor left the field of battle, the handful of troops that followed Mr. Law, discouraged by this flight, and tired of the wandering life which they had hitherto led in his service, turned about likewise, and followed the emperor. Mr. Law, finding himself abandoned and alone, resolved not to turn his back; he bestrode one of his guns, and remained firm in that posture, waiting for the moment of his death. This being reported to major Carnac, he detached himself from his men, with captain Knox and some other officers, and he advanced to the man on the gun, without taking with him either a guard or any Talingas (sepoys) at all. Being arrived near, this troop alighted from their horses, and pulling their caps from their heads, they swept the air with them, as if to make him a salam; and this salute being returned by Mr. Law in the same manner, some parley in their language ensued. The major, after paying high encomiums to Mr. Law for his perseverance, conduct, and bravery, added these words:—'you have done everything which could be expected from a brave man; and your name shall be undoubtedly transmitted to posterity by the pen of history: now

unfortunate M. Lally in his own country, though, with all his faults and errors, he had been the most active partisan ever attached to the French cause in India. The account of his sufferings described by Mr. Mill, is so useful toward a right understanding of the French government, which, with its head,

loosen your sword from your loins, come amongst us, and abandon all thoughts of contending with the English.' The other answered, 'that if they would accept of his surrendering himself just as he was, he had no objection; but as to surrendering himself with the disgrace of being without his sword, it was a shame he would never submit to, and that they might take his life if they were not satisfied with that condition.' The English commanders, admiring his firmness, consented to his surrendering himself in the manner he wished, after which the major with his officers shook hands with him, in their European manner, and every sentiment of enmity was instantly dismissed on both sides; at the same time the major sent for his own palanquin, made him sit in it; and he was sent to camp: Mr. Law, unwilling to see or to be seen, shut up the curtains of the palanquin, for fear of being recognised by any of his friends at camp; but yet some of his acquaintances, hearing of his being arrived, went to him. The major, who had excused him from appearing in public, informed them that they could not see him for some days, as he was too much vexed to receive any company. Ahmed Khan Koteishee, who was an impertinent talker, having come to look at him, thought to pay his court to the English by joking on the man's defeat,—a behaviour that has nothing strange, if we consider the times in which we live, and the company he was accustomed to frequent; and it was in that notion of his, doubtless, that with much pertness of voice and air, he asked him this question;—'and biby (lady) Law, where is she?' The major and the officers present, shocked at the impropriety of the question, reprimanded him with a severe look and very severe expression: 'This man,' they said, 'has fought bravely, and deserves the attention of all brave men: the impertinences which you have been offering him may be customary among your friends and your nation, but cannot be suffered in ours, which has for it a standing rule, never to offer an injury to a vanquished foe.' Ahmed Khan, checked by this reprimand, held his tongue, and did not answer a word: he tarried about one hour more in his visit, and then went away much abashed; and although he was a commander of importance, and one to whom much honor had been always paid, no one did speak to him any more, or made a show of standing up at his departure. This reprimand did much honor to the English; and, it must be acknowledged, to the honor of those strangers, that as their conduct in war and in battle is worthy of admiration, so, on the other hand, nothing is more modest and more becoming than their behaviour to an enemy, whether in the heat of action, or in the pride of success and victory: these people seem to act intirely according to the rules observed by our ancient commanders, and our men of genius.'

was pre-eminent in baseness, that it ought not to be omitted, even if the narrative were less interesting.

'By the feeble measures of a weak and defective government, a series of disasters, during some preceding years, had fallen on France; and a strong sentiment of disapprobation prevailed against the hands by which the machine of government was conducted: when the total loss of the boasted acquisitions of the nation in India was reported, the public discontent was fanned into a flame; and the ministry were far from easy with regard to the shock which it might communicate to the structure of their power: any thing therefore was to be done to avert the danger. Fortunately for them, a multitude of persons arrived from India, boiling with resentment against Lally, and pouring out the most bitter accusations: fortunately for them, too, the public, swayed as usual by first appearances, and attaching the blame to the man who had the more immediate guidance of the affairs on which ruin had come, appeared abundantly disposed to overlook the ministry in their condemnation of Lally. The popular indignation was carefully cultivated; and by one of those acts of imposture and villany, of which the history of ministers in all the countries of Europe affords no lack of instances, it was resolved to raise a screen between the ministry and popular hatred by the cruel and disgraceful destruction of Lally. On his arrival in France, he was thrown into the Bastile; and from the Bastile, as a place too honorable for him, he was removed to a common prison. An accusation, consisting of vague or frivolous imputations, was preferred against him; but nothing was proved, except that his conduct did not come up to the very perfection of prudence and wisdom; and that it did display the greatest ardor in the service, the greatest disinterestedness, fidelity, and perseverance, with no common share of military talent and mental resources. The grand tribunal of the nation, the parliament of Paris, found no difficulty in seconding the wishes of the ministry and the artificial cry of the day, by condemning him to an ignominious death. Lally, confident in his innocence, had never once anticipated the possibility of any other sentence than that of an honorable acquittal: when it was read to him in his dungeon, he was thrown into an agony of surprise and indignation; and taking up a pair of compasses, with which he had been sketching a chart of the Coromandel coast, he endeavored to strike them to his heart; but his arm was held by a person near him. With indecent precipitation he was executed that very day; being dragged through the streets of Paris in a dirty dung-cart;

and, lest he should address the people, a gag was stuffed into his mouth, so large as to project beyond his lips. Voltaire, who had already signalised his pen by some memorable interpositions in favor of justice and the oppressed, against French judges and their law, exerted himself to expose in a clear light the real circumstances of this horrid transaction, which Mr. Orme scruples not to call 'a murder committed with the sword of justice.' It was the son of this very man, who under the name of Lally Tollendal, was a member of the constituent assembly, and by his eloquence and ardor in the cause of liberty contributed to crumble into dust a monarchy, under which acts of this atrocious description were so liable to happen. Thus had the French East India company, within a few years, destroyed three, the only eminent men who had ever been placed at the head of their affairs in India, Labourdonnais, Dupleix, and Lally. It did not long survive this last display of its imbecility and injustice.'[7]

Few warlike operations had taken place, during the winter, between the king of Prussia and his antagonists; but in the present year he had to sustain a very unequal contest against the armies of two mighty empires, while he himself was almost exhausted even by his victories. Notwithstanding therefore the glorious achievements of the preceding campaign, he was obliged to think of safety rather than of conquest, and to risk nothing in desperate efforts, where a single failure might effect his ruin. His brother prince Henry remained within his intrenchments at Leipsic, to counteract the designs of the vigilant Daun on Saxony; but Silesia being threatened by the combined forces of Austria and Russia, Frederic undertook its defence in person; and his military skill was principally displayed in the fortified encampment at Buntzelwitz, by which he defied the attacks and interrupted the progress of his enemies. In September he destroyed the Russian magazines; and, had not his provisions failed, he would have prevented any serious loss on this side; for a blow which general Platten had struck successfully against the Russian magazines before Colburg had the effect of drawing off their forces from Silesia: but on the twenty-ninth of the same month, being obliged to leave his impregnable post, and withdraw towards Neiss, Laudohn, who was retiring toward the mountains, disappointed by the unfavorable prospects of the campaign, suddenly turned, and attacked the important place of Schweidnitz, whence the king drew most of his supplies. This fortress, which, from the extent

7 Mill's History of India, vol. iii. p. 234.

of its works, required a garrison of 7000 men, had now only 3000, the rest having been imprudently withdrawn by Frederic when the Russians retreated; but it contained 500 Austrian prisoners, among whom was major Rocca, an Italian partisan, who, having been imprudently indulged with too much liberty, remarked the weak points of the fortifications and the negligence of the garrison; intelligence of which he found means of conveying to Laudohn. In consequence of this, the Austrian general led his troops by night to the attack, and advanced unperceived to the palisades; when, after a short contest, and the explosion of a powder magazine, which killed about 300 on each side, he gained the outworks. In one place only did the Austrians meet with a determined resistance, where the regiment of Laudohn was twice repulsed; but count Wallis, who led them to the assault, exclaimed, 'Comrades, we must scale the fortress, or here I will perish: such was my promise to our commander: our regiment bears his name; and we must conquer or die!' Animated by this address, the soldiers again leaped into the ditch and scaled the ramparts. The other attacks had quicker success: in the confusion of the night, the Austrian prisoners liberated themselves from confinement, and took possession of the bridges; so that by day-break all the works were in possession of the assailants, with 3300 Prussians as prisoners. In this attack a Russian detachment of the besieging army gave a dreadful proof of the determined bravery, or rather ferocity, of that nation. Advancing to the assault, they unexpectedly found themselves at the brink of a deep fosse, filled with water; but this obstacle was not allowed to arrest their progress; the foremost ranks, being precipitated into the ditch and suffocated, formed a bridge of dead bodies, over which their comrades rushed into the city, carrying death and desolation with them, and uttering the cry, 'We give no quarter!'

The loss of Scheweidnitz, added to a previous surrender of Colburg, the key of his northern provinces, deranged the plans of Frederic, and almost reduced him to despair. Without a single battle, the affairs of Austria became more prosperous than they had been during any preceding period of the war. One of her armies retained its position in Saxony; and, by the capture of Schweidnitz, another could now take up its winter quarters in Silesia. The Russians also, with the possession of Colburg, had acquired a port on the Baltic, where they might securely form extensive magazines; while Prussian Pomerania and Brandenburg lay open to their incursions.

On the side of Westphalia alone affairs wore a less favorable aspect for the enemies of Frederic; but as the French held possession of a great part of that country, with the whole of Hesse, prince Ferdinand was obliged to act with subtilty, as well as with spirit. Contrasting the strong constitutions and well-exercised bodies of his own troops, with the less hardy character of his opponents, he determined on a winter campaign: early therefore in February he attacked them with such impetuosity, that they dispersed in confusion, and were only saved by the defiles and other difficulties of the country, which favored their retreat. The marquis of Granby gallantly seconded these efforts, by storming many of their forts and magazines; and though the prince failed in the grand object of his plans, the reduction of Cassel, he made a masterly retreat into Hanover, leaving his enemies distressed by the loss of their supplies, and unable to take advantage of their success. Both armies then entered into winter quarters; nor did they recommence operations before the end of June; when marshal Broglio, being strongly reinforced, and having effected a junction with the prince of Soubise, marched against the army of the allies, advantageously posted on the Dymel. Having surprised a body of troops placed in front, under general Sporcken, and taken 800 prisoners, with nineteen pieces of cannon, he passed the river and captured several places; but the allies so far recovered their spirits as to retaliate boldly, and make incursions even to the very gates of Cassel. These irritating skirmishes determined the French marshal to bring on a general action.

Prince Ferdinand, apprised of this intention, called in his detachments, and made an admirable disposition of his army; covering the centre and right wing in front by the small but deep river Saltzbach, and posting the left wing on an isthmus between the Lippe and Æst; its extremity being supported by the village of Kirchdenkern. This important post was intrusted to the marquis of Granby, who had under him the flower of the army, and greatest part of the artillery: here he was suddenly exposed to an impetuous attack by the French under Soubise, which he gallantly resisted for several hours, until general Wutgenau came to his assistance, with reinforcements, according to the original plan of operations: then the French, after an obstinate struggle, which lasted till night, withdrew for shelter into the woods in their rear. Next day all the arrangements of the allied army were completed, and the French also prepared for a general and better-sustained

attack: marshal Broglio himself led their right wing against the marquis of Granby; and the engagement began at three o'clock in the morning. A severe fire was kept up on both sides for the space of five hours, without any effect; when, about nine o'clock, prince Ferdinand, being informed that the enemy was erecting batteries on an eminence in front of Granby's position, ordered a body of troops to interrupt them; which service was so promptly effected, that the French were thrown into irretrievable confusion, and obliged to quit the field. Their retreat was favored by the inclosures of the country, and was also covered by the centre and left wing of the army, which had not been able to pass the Saltzbach; but their loss amounted to near 5000 men, while the allies had no more than 300 killed, 1000 wounded, and about 200 missing. A still greater source of evil to the enemy lay in the mutual jealousy and personal pique existing between marshal Broglio and the prince of Soubise, whose armies were disunited during the remainder of the campaign: that under the former, having crossed the Weser, threatened to fall on Hanover and Brunswick; while the troops of the latter passed the Lippe, and made dispositions for the siege of Munster.

Prince Ferdinand, not having forces sufficient to form two distinct armies, chose a central position for his main body, whence he could send out detachments to the relief of any place attacked. The skill and vigor of his measures prevented the enemy from making important conquests, though they could not protect so large an extent of country from cruel ravages: after many manœuvres and enterprises on both sides, in which several posts were taken and recovered, and in which the hereditary prince of Brunswick greatly distinguished himself, marshal Broglio retreated, with more booty than laurels, into winter quarters near Cassel; the forces of Soubise were distributed along the Lower Rhine; and most of the allies occupied nearly the same positions which they held before the campaign. The British cavalry wintered in East Friesland, and the infantry in the bishopric of Osnaburg.

The large supplies granted by the British parliament, while they astonished all Europe, contributed, with the distressed finances, the ruined navy, and the conquered colonies of France, to incline that power strongly toward a peace: in this wish Sweden and Poland were ready to join; nor was the empress of Russia herself unwilling to be released from a fatiguing attention to the affairs of Europe, in order to enjoy more freely that voluptuous mode of life, to which even age had not

rendered her insensible. Austria alone, whose empress-queen was resolutely bent on the recovery of Silesia, and the destruction of its conqueror, seemed desirous of prolonging hostilities. Maria Theresa beheld with satisfaction the change lately effected in the British cabinet; anticipating the retirement of its great leader Mr. Pitt, as the period when England would relapse into a lukewarm support of her inveterate foe: her hopes were also raised by the accession of Charles III. to the crown of Spain, a prince less pacific in disposition than his predecessor, and could not forget the degrading neutrality which he had been compelled to sign, by the presence of a British fleet, when he was on the throne of Naples. Strongly inclined to cherish his family connexions with France, he was also attracted to Austria by the conciliating conduct of Maria Theresa, who neither urged her pretensions to Parma, nor objected to the order of succession which he had established for the two Sicilies. These amicable dispositions were strengthened by the marriage of his niece, Isabella of Parma, with the Austrian archduke Joseph: so that the three cabinets, united as they were by the ties of blood and political interests, began secretly to concert together those arrangements, which terminated in the celebrated family compact, and gave a new ally to the house of Austria.[8]

When, therefore, overtures of peace on the part of France were made in London, through the medium of the Russian ambassador, Maria Theresa, affecting to force her inclinations, in compliance with the wishes of the house of Bourbon, proposed that a congress should be held at Augsburg: but although she displayed this apparent anxiety for peace, she cautiously avoided engaging herself in any negotiation: indeed no long time elapsed, before the notion of this proposed congress was set aside by a ridiculous point of Austrian punctilio;[9] but it had been dexterously arranged, that the ministers of France and England should endeavor to settle all differences existing between those two countries at their respective courts, and negotiate a separate treaty. As this proposal was agreed to without any reference to the king of Prussia, it manifestly indicated some relaxation of that strict political alliance which had hitherto subsisted between the cabinets of Berlin and London. M. Bussy being sent as

[8] See Coxe's House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 462.

[9] The emperor, it was said, could not send an ambassador, because war had been declared against the empress-queen, and not against the head of the empire.

French negotiator to England, and Mr. Hans Stanley on the part of Great Britain to Paris, the prospect of an adjustment, after some delay, seemed fair. France, who proposed the separate treaty, and thereby disjoined herself from the general cause, appeared, by that very act, as if willing to forego any advantages arising from her success in Germany, and to accept such terms as an aggressor might naturally expect from the superiority of a rival. Under these circumstances, most persons conceived that her intentions were sincere, though her rulers were playing a deep and artful game: they felt satisfied that Spain would never consent to the humiliation of the eldest branch of the house of Bourbon; and they also knew that Charles III. entertained a jealous fear of the maritime power of Great Britain, to which his transatlantic colonies were so peculiarly exposed: hence they conjectured, that the more imperious the demands of their antagonist should be, the more certainly would they fix Charles to their cause, and draw Spain into the quarrel.

At first there seemed to be no great difficulty in settling the terms relative to mutual conquests, on the general basis of *uti possidetis*, cessions on the one side being compensated by equivalents on the other; but as no cessation of arms had taken place, a difficulty soon arose respecting the specific time to which this matter should be referred. France proposed the first of May for Europe; the first of July for the West Indies; and the first of September for the East; declaring her willingness to take other epochs, if these should prove unsatisfactory to England. The British minister at first declined all, except that on which the treaty of peace should be signed: but when it was intimated to him, that in such case the nature and value of possessions to be relinquished could not be ascertained, and therefore the treaty must necessarily fail, he acknowleged the propriety of this objection; but before he would treat definitely, he proposed two preliminary conditions: first, that the adjustment between England and France should be conclusive, independently of the congress to be held at Augsburg; secondly, that the definitive treaty should be signed before the first of August ensuing. These conditions being conceded, he named the first of July for Europe, the first of September for Africa and America, the first of November for the East Indies. The French ministry, after a consultation, real or pretended, with their chief ally, signified assent, provided nothing should be stipulated to the prejudice of the house of Austria: they then sent in specific proposals, according to

agreement; the principal of which were, 1. to cede Canada, under certain conditions, retaining liberty of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and possession of Cape Breton, on which no fortification was to be erected: 2. to restore Minorca for Guadaloupe and Marigalante: 3. to evacuate all Germany, east of the Maine, in return for either Senegal or Goree in Africa, and Belleisle in Europe; neither party to assist the German potentates with troops: 4. to constitute the treaty made by Godeheu and Saunders in 1755, a basis for the re-establishment of peace in the East Indies: 5. Great Britain to restore all French ships captured before the declaration of war.

Mr. Pitt found great difficulty in replying to these conditions, from the declaration made by England that she would preserve her faith inviolably toward her ally, the king of Prussia: the condition therefore respecting the German powers was considered as a very insidious one on the part of France; for if the congress at Augsburg should fail in its pacificatory design, the Prussian monarch would probably be crushed by the powerful confederacy arrayed against him. Some of the other terms also were considered as too arrogantly adopted by France in the condition to which she was reduced.

It is very doubtful if any amicable arrangement could have proceeded from this negotiation: at the same time it seems more than probable, that the French minister, before he entered into it, had secured the consent of Spain to an alliance with his court. Even while negotiations were pending, M. Bussy delivered to the British minister a private memorial, proposing that Spain should be invited to take part in the proceedings in order to prevent disputes, and to guarantee the intended treaty; intimating also the consent of his catholic majesty that such a requisition should be made to him, and putting forward a species of threat, that under existing circumstances the Spanish court had no great reason to be kindly disposed toward Great Britain: to recover its friendship therefore, and to deserve its good offices as a mediator, it was required, that England should remove several causes of uneasiness, by restoring some ships taken, during the war, under Spanish colors: by granting to Spain the liberty she claimed of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland; and by demolishing the British settlements on the coast of Honduras, made contrary to treaty.[10] Again, as if to aggravate the insolence of these

[10] There was a degree of justice in some of these claims; but they were urged at an improper time, and to serve a particular purpose.

demands, France presented a memorial from Austria, stating that the empress-queen expected, if she consented to a separate pacification of France and England, that she should retain all conquests made from Prussia; and that the allies should stipulate to withdraw their assistance from that power. Here then appeared the scope and aim of this ingenious piece of diplomacy.

France was, in the first instance, to be put forward, in order to acquire the credit of pacific designs, after Spain had been cajoled by artful representations and hopes of aggrandisement, interested by fears for the house of Bourbon, and excited by a jealousy of British power: with this tone of moderation England was to be allured into negotiations, during which the demands of France might assume a degree of arrogance that would throw on her antagonist the necessity of resisting them, and excite a general suspicion of exorbitant pretensions: in that stage of the business, Spain was to come forward as a moderator, with a list of her own grievances to be redressed, and an offer of mediation, under threats of her displeasure, if the overtures were rejected; while an opportunity was given to Austria, for insinuating her pretensions, to upset the whole scheme for which the war had been undertaken; and which, if granted, would tie down England against any future interference: no doubt, it was expected that this latter power would shrink from encountering the odium of rejecting proposals so pacificatory, and the danger of an enlarged confederacy against her in case of such a rejection; that she would consult her own ease and present security, by leaving Prussia to be dismembered, and the combined system of European policy to be overthrown; especially when a considerable party of her own statesmen were blind to the danger of departing from the first principles of the war, when German subsidies were odious to a very large portion of the people, and when the rising favorite, as well as the sovereign, were unfriendly to the cause of Frederic.[11] Fortunately however for England and for Europe, the penetrating genius and patriotic counsels of Mr. Pitt were not yet lost to the state. Duly estimating the power and resources of Great Britain, he entertained no fears for the result, when he disdainfully rejected these attempts to place her in the position of a beaten and dejected power, positively refused the degrading proposal of admitting Spain into the

[11] He was personally odious to George III. whose religious mind was naturally shocked at the sceptical and immoral opinions promulgated by the royal author.

negotiations, and declared the proposition respecting Prussia inadmissible, as being inconsistent with British honor.

Feeling it however incumbent on him to return an official answer to specific proposals, he stated that England would agree to receive Canada, without any conditions, and accompanied by its appurtenances—that she rejected the requisition of Cape Breton by France—that she would grant to that power liberty of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, provided France would demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk—that she agreed to the offer made concerning the West Indies and Belleisle—that she rejected the proposed neutrality regarding Germany, and demanded the evacuation of that country intirely by France—that she refused to restore either Senegal or Goree—and that she would refer all negotiations respecting the East Indies to the two national companies: finally, she refused to restore the ships, and resolved to assist his Prussian majesty in the recovery of Silesia.

Thus then the gauntlet was thrown down; for to such terms France could not accede, while she had any means of prolonging the contest: she lost therefore her principal object in proposing the negotiations; but gained the inferior one of being able to complain with apparent justice of the haughty impracticability of her opponent. The Spanish minister also avowed the authenticity of his memorial; over which, for the sake of policy, some doubt had been hitherto discreetly cast.

Still the delusion was for a time kept up: an ultimatum was given in from the court of Versailles, and other delays were interposed, until the celebrated treaty, called the Family Compact, was actually signed between France and Spain. Of this transaction Mr. Stanley received some obscure intelligence, which he communicated to Mr. Pitt; the negotiations were then suddenly closed, Messrs. Bussy and Stanley being ordered to return to their respective courts.

The earl of Bristol, our ambassador at Madrid, was now instructed to demand from the Spanish minister, Don Ricardo Wall, either a disavowal or a satisfactory explanation of his irregular memorial delivered in by M. Bussy; which, said Mr. Pitt, 'best speaks its own enormity, and the extreme offensiveness of the matter it contains.' At the same time, lord Bristol was advised, while he remonstrated energetically and firmly, to give the offending party every fair opportunity of retreat and retraction; still however denying Spanish pretensions to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; referring to the justice of English tribunals every claim concerning the restitution of prizes; and

intimating his Britanic majesty's intention to destroy the settlements at Honduras, as soon as Spain would suggest any other method by which his subjects could enjoy the traffic in logwood, to which they were by treaty intitled.

From the earl of Bristol's reply, dated the thirty-first of August, and received on the eleventh of September, it appears that the Spanish minister artfully extolled the magnanimity of the king of England in refusing to add facilities toward the accommodation of differences with another sovereign, in consequence of any intimation from a power at war, or the threatenings of an enemy. Mr. Wall farther affirmed, that the assent given by his catholic majesty to the French king's offer of endeavoring to settle disputes between England and Spain, was unconnected with any design to retard the peace, and absolutely void of any intention to offend the sovereign of Great Britain. The king of Spain, he said, did not suppose that England would look on the French cabinet as a tribunal to which the court of London would make an appeal; nor did he mean it as such, when the statement of grievances was conveyed through that channel. His excellency also assured the earl of Bristol, that his catholic majesty, both before and then, esteemed and valued the frequent professions made by the British court of friendship, and of a desire to settle all differences amicably; and he asked, whether it could be imagined in England, that the catholic king was seeking to provoke Great Britain in her present florishing and exalted condition, brought about by the greatest series of successes that any single nation had ever experienced? but he refused to give up any of the three points in dispute; owning that the most perfect harmony subsisted between the courts of France and Spain; and that in consequence of such harmony, the most christian king had offered to assist his catholic majesty, in case the discussion between Great Britain and Spain should terminate in a rupture; which offer was considered in a friendly point of view.

On the receipt of this intelligence, Mr. Pitt felt certified of the hostile disposition of Spain, and of her intention, by delaying the open avowal of it, to enter into the contest at her own season, and with the greatest possible effect: accordingly, he declared in council, that we ought to consider her evasive answer as a refusal of satisfaction; to withdraw our ambassador from Madrid; and to strike the first blow by intercepting the Spanish galleons, and thus cripple the enemy's resources: he even delivered a proposal to this effect on paper, signed by himself and lord Temple, in order to show that his opinion was

deliberately offered. After a full discussion of the subject at three cabinet meetings, the measure was rejected by all the other ministers, as being precipitate, repugnant to the dictates of sound policy, and inconsistent with the laws of honor or justice. They allowed that Spain had taken a very extraordinary step, to which she had been unwarily led by the artifices of the French cabinet; but they wished to try the effect of farther remonstrances: they admitted that Great Britain ought not to be deterred from making just demands by menaces in any quarter; but they affirmed, that to create a new war, or to extend an old one, while our finances were so much dilapidated, was no proof of wisdom; and that to provoke a rupture with Spain in particular, was to injure wantonly the commercial interests of both nations. Besides, they said, such hasty measures would alarm all Europe, and more than counterbalance any advantages, by their injurious effect on the national character: before we enter into war, let the world see plainly the perfidious designs of those we would attack; let us not aim to surpass them in treachery; nor let the lion debase himself by acting the part of the fox. Probably too the Spanish flota may be arrived in harbor, and we may eventually miss what it would be an act of piracy to take. If indeed Spain, blind to her real interests, and misled by French councils, should enter more decisively into the contest, then will be the time to draw the sword; then all other powers will applaud the determination, and our own subjects will cheerfully sustain the burdens of a war sanctioned by justice and consistent with honor.

There was an apparent truth and magnanimity in these sentiments, advanced by so great a majority of the cabinet, that stung Mr. Pitt, though they could not convince him: it is indeed believed, that as he had a deeper insight into the real principles of the war than the other ministers, so also that he possessed a more certain knowlege of the Spanish councils, by means of a communication which he was not at liberty to disclose.[12] After again earnestly representing to his colleagues the progress of the family alliance, the necessity of intercepting the Spanish flota, and the present favorable opportunity, which might never be recovered, of humbling the house of Bourbon, this great but imperious minister, seeing the

[12] It is said that the attainted Earl Marischal of Scotland, then resident at the court of Madrid, anxious to regain the good opinion of the British government, was Mr. Pitt's informant: by this means the minister knew that the family compact was actually signed by Spain, before he proposed to attack that power.

little effect which his expostulations produced, thus concluded:—'I was called to the administration of public affairs by the voice of the people: to them I have always considered myself accountable for my conduct; and therefore cannot remain in a situation which makes me responsible for measures which I am no longer allowed to guide.' To this declaration, considered by the council as an arrogant assumption of ministerial superiority, the president, lord Granville,[13] coolly replied:—'The right honorable gentleman, I find, is determined to leave us; and I can hardly regret it, as he would otherwise have compelled us to leave him. If he be resolved to assume the sole right of advising his majesty, and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we here assembled? when he talks of being responsible to the people, he speaks the language of the house of commons, and forgets that at this board, he is responsible only to the king. He may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility: still it remains, that we should be equally convinced, before we can resign our understandings to his direction, or join with him in the measures he proposes.'

In pursuance of his resolution, Mr. Pitt repaired to St. James's on the fifth of October, and carried the seals to the king, which his majesty received with ease and firmness, but without requesting him to resume them. He declared his satisfaction at the opinion of his council; adding, that he would have felt himself placed in a very difficult situation had contrary sentiments been expressed by so great a majority; in order however to testify his sense of Mr. Pitt's high merit and services, he made him a gracious offer of any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow. The ex-minister, sensibly affected by these candid and condescending expressions, replied,—'I confess, sire, I had but too much reason to expect your majesty's displeasure; and I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness: pardon me, sire; it overpowers—it oppresses me.' He then burst into tears.[14]

[13] The other members of the cabinet, ten in number, among whom were the dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, the earls of Hardwicke and Bute, lords Mansfield, Ligonier, and Anson, were opposed to the opinion of Mr. Pitt, and severally delivered their dissent by word of mouth, according to lord Barrington's information to Mr. Mitchell.—Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. iv. p. 442.

[14] See Annual Register for 1761, p. 44. For Mr. Pitt's own account of the reasons which induced him to resign, see a letter addressed by him to a friend in the City, in the Appendix, No. 1.

A pension of £3000 per annum, and for three lives, was conferred on Mr. Pitt, who at this time declined the dignity of a peerage for himself, but accepted it for his wife and her issue. Lord Egremont, son of the great tory Sir William Wyndham, was appointed his successor; as Mr. George Grenville declined the seals, and chose to remain treasurer of the navy, with the management of the house of commons. Lord Temple also retired from office; and the privy seal was committed to the duke of Bedford's keeping.

It can scarcely be matter of surprise that the resignation of such a popular minister as Mr. Pitt should have excited a vehement conflict between the admirers and the censurers of his conduct. While some thought, that in resigning office at so critical a moment, he showed himself more alive to personal glory than to the interests of his country; others considered the act as a splendid proof of patriotic virtue, of just indignation against the betrayers of those interests, and of political wisdom well calculated to make them hesitate in their designs. While we find lord Barrington regretting it as a most unfortunate event,[15] likely to occasion great inconvenience both at home and abroad; Mr. Doddington, or rather lord Melcombe, (for this selfish politician had been raised to the peerage) writes to congratulate his noble friend lord Bute, 'on his being delivered from a most impracticable colleague, the king from a most imperious servant, and the country from a most dangerous minister:' he adds, however, that 'he is told, the people are sullen about it.'[16] Lord Bute's answer to this communication would be a complete enigma, did we not know how cautiously we must receive as dictates of the heart, political opinions, too often expressed by one party for the purpose of misleading another. The letter alluded to contains sentiments throughout, on the subject of the war, which might be supposed to flow from the pen of Mr. Pitt, rather than of one opposed to him in politics.[17] No doubt, lord Bute was staggered at the moment; no doubt, he began to shrink from the Herculean task which he had long coveted, as soon as a load of diplomacy, connected with the four quarters of the globe, was taken from

[15] Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. iv. p. 442.

[16] Letter to lord Bute, October 6, 1761.

[17] See the Appendix, No. 2, for this curious epistle and the still more curious answer of lord Melcombe. Almost every letter of this noble lord to his friend the earl of Bute is written with a covert design of creeping into office; in one he hints broadly that he is willing to hold the place of premier for him till it may be convenient to lord Bute to assume it.

the Atlantean shoulders of Mr. Pitt, to be deposited on his own: he was however cordially supported by his colleagues, who seemed actuated by a more than Persian devotion, in their readiness to worship the rising sun. The duke of Newcastle, in particular, had always been jealous of that ascendency which Mr. Pitt's talents and popularity gave him over less illustrious statesmen: he had even beheld with feelings of envy and vexation the success of measures, which formed a strong contrast to his own career; for, although he held ostensibly the first place in the administration, he was in reality an inferior coadjutor. Instead therefore of retiring with Mr. Pitt, this extraordinary personage conceived hopes of rising on his fall, and of regaining that pre-eminent station which he once occupied, when a confederacy of whig families held the crown itself in bondage: but his adherents were now so diminished in number and consequence, that he stood almost alone in the cabinet, as the representative of such a system: he soon found, to his infinite mortification, that if he would stay there at all, he must follow in the train of lord Bute!

The press now began to teem with publications respecting the late events; and both parties were assailed by this engine with equal violence. While lord Bute was vilified as driving from the helm the only pilot who could direct the vessel, Mr. Pitt's pension, and the honors conferred on his family, though below his merit, were made objects of the most virulent abuse: even the popularity of this great man was for a time shaken, though it soon recovered its strength; or rather it took deeper root in the affections of the people, through that love of opposition, which generally draws the multitude toward an opponent of their rulers. The common council of London presented a vote of thanks to their favorite on the twenty-second of October; and on the lord mayor's day, when their majesties dined at Guildhall, Mr. Pitt was gratified with the most rapturous acclamations, while the king and queen were received with comparative indifference, and lord Bute was exposed to the humorous but insulting ribaldy of the populace. It is time however to turn from the intrigues of cabinet policy to events of a more tranquil and domestic nature.

In no instance does the king appear to have acted with greater regard to his own happiness and his people's welfare, than in the choice of his royal consort. Various accounts have been given of the circumstances which led to this desirable connexion; but the real state of the case seems to be, that colonel Græme, a clever agent of the earl of Bute, was recom-

mended by his lordship to the king, and commissioned to visit the protestant courts of Germany, for the purpose of discovering a princess worthy to sit on the British throne. His instructions are said to have comprised the following particulars: that she should be perfect in form—of pure blood—of a healthy constitution—possessed of elegant accomplishments, especially music, of which the king was extremely fond—and of a mild, obliging, cheerful disposition. The choice made by him who was honored by so difficult and delicate a commision, fell on Sophia Charlotte, second daughter of the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, by his consort Albertina Elizábeth, daughter of the duke of Saxe Hildburghausen: but there can be little doubt, that he in some measure consulted his sovereign's known inclinations in the affair; and that he fixed on this interesting personage because he found that she possessed many qualities both of mind and person, corresponding with that excellence which was connected with her in the king's imagination. In fact, a letter addressed by this amiable princess to Frederic the Great, deploring the calamities of the war in which he was engaged, and endeavoring to avert a portion of them from her father's miserable subjects, had fallen into the king's hands, and created in his bosom a strong interest for its eloquent and feeling writer.

On the eighth of July, his majesty, having called an extraordinary council, made the following declaration to its members:—'Having nothing so much at heart as to procure the welfare and happiness of my people, and to render the same stable and permanent to posterity, I have, ever since my accession to the throne, turned my thoughts toward the choice of a princess for my consort; and I now with great satisfaction acquaint you, that, after full information and mature deliberation, I am come to a resolution to demand in marriage the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz; a princess distinguished by every eminent virtue and amiable endowment; whose illustrious line has constantly shown the firmest zeal for the protestant religion, and a particular attachment to my family. I have judged it proper to communicate to you these my intentions, in order that you may be fully apprised of a matter so highly important to me and to my kingdoms, and which I persuade myself will be most acceptable to my loving subjects.' This announcement occasioned some surprise to most of those who heard it, the preliminary negotiations having been carried on with extraordinary secrecy. On the fifteenth of August the treaty was concluded, and preparations were set

on foot to conduct the bride to her future home: the earl of Harcourt, who had been governor to the young king when prince of Wales,[18] with the duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton, two of the finest women at the British court, were selected to escort her; and lord Anson had the honor of commanding the fleet destined to convoy the royal yacht.

From the court of Strelitz, where 'the great honor done to it by the king was seen in its proper light,' lord Harcourt sends to his correspondent a description of his future queen, which remarkably corresponds with the instructions given to colonel Græme: —'Our queen, that is to be, has seen little of the world; but her very good sense, vivacity, and cheerfulness, I dare say, will recommend her to the king, and make her the darling of the British nation. She is no regular beauty; but she is of a pretty size, has a charming complexion, with very pretty eyes, and is finely made.'[19]

The separation of the princess from the members of her family, by whom she was much beloved, is said to have been truly affecting. Having received very distinguished honors on her route, she arrived at Stade, and embarked on the twenty-fourth of August, under a salute of twenty-one guns from each ship in the squadron. After a long and tempestuous passage, the vessels, which were twice in sight of land and driven out again to sea, cast anchor in Harwich roads on the sixth of September; but the princess did not land till the following day, when she set forward on her journey, and slept that night at lord Abercorn's seat near Witham. About noon, on the eighth, she was met by the king's servants at Romford, where she entered the royal carriage, being richly dressed in the English fashion. From Mile-end she was escorted to St. James's by the life-guards; and when she arrived at the palace, the duke of York was ready to hand her out of the carriage, while his majesty raised her up tenderly and saluted her as she was dropping on her knee to pay him obeisance. It is said, that in the first interview, the king, whose heart was pre-

[18] In allusion to this appointment, lord Harcourt says, in a letter to Mr. Mitchell; 'I happened to be one of the few, perhaps the only man of quality, that did not solicit some favor of the king on his accession to the crown: he took notice of it, and was pleased with it. After what happened to me some years ago, it was beneath me to become a solicitor for favors and employment: if the king thought me worthy to be employed, I knew I should receive some mark of favor; if not, I was sure no solicitation would signify.'—Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. iv. p. 440.

[19] Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. iv. p. 439.

occupied by another image, drew back a little, on observing in the princess a deficiency of those personal charms which he expected to find: an involuntary expression of disappointment was slightly revealed on his countenance; but it was only momentary: his generous feelings became interested; and the effect of an artless, cheerful manner, and of an obliging disposition, soon dissipated the cloud on his majesty's brow, while it elicited praise from the whole court, not only of his bride's affability, but even of her beauty.[20] While they waited for supper, it is stated that she sat down to sing and play; and that she exchanged much conversation with the king both in French and German. The nuptial benediction was given by Dr. Secker, archbishop of Canterbury, who had officiated at his majesty's baptism, and had afterwards placed the crown on his head: the duke of Cumberland gave away the bride; and the charming lady Sarah Lenox, the young king's first flame, whom Horace Walpole compares for beauty to the most exquisite Magdalene of Correggio, assisted to bear the queen's train. Why her presence should not have been dispensed with it is difficult to imagine, unless this were required as a trial of fortitude, to show whether one party could best endure the loss of beauty, or the other that of a crown.

The first public appearance of the royal pair, after their marriage, was on the ensuing Sunday at St. James's chapel, which was crowded to excess; but the brilliant congregation there assembled was much disappointed by the reverend Mr. Schutz, no part of whose sermon had any reference to the particular occasion except the text; 'Provide things honest in the sight of men.'

The next evening was devoted to amusement at Drury-lane, to see 'The Rehearsal,' the first dramatic exhibition which the young queen had ever witnessed; their passage in chairs, from the palace to the theatre, was almost obstructed by the curious but loyal multitude: the crowd indeed pressed so closely on them, that her majesty felt considerable alarm; but more sorrow next morning, on hearing that many persons had suffered serious injury, and that one or two had even been trampled to death.

Extraordinary preparations were made for the ensuing coronation, and enormous prices demanded for seats on the scaffold-

[20] 'In half an hour,' says Horace Walpole, who was himself at court, 'one heard of nothing but proclamations of her beauty: everybody was content, everybody was pleased. She looks very sensible, cheerful, and remarkably genteel.'

ing to view the splendid pageant. Thousands of spectators sat in the open air all night to secure good positions; and so great was the rage for witnessing the procession, that the husband of a lady who was far advanced in pregnancy paid 140 guineas for two rooms, commanding a view of the platform, where she could be attended by her nurse and accoucheur.

The ceremony took place on the twenty-second of September; when, notwithstanding all pains taken to have things in order, some curious instances of error and forgetfulness occurred. First it was discovered that the sword of state had been left behind; and chairs, with canopies for the king and queen, omitted: the lord mayor's sword was substituted for the former; and the whole procession had to wait in the hall till noon, while the others were arranged. It is worthy of remark, that when his majesty approached the altar to receive the sacrament, he asked if he should lay aside his crown; and when the archbishop, after having consulted with bishop Pearce, replied, that no order existed on the subject in the service: 'then,' rejoined the king, 'there ought to be one;' and at the same time taking the diadem from his head, he reverently placed it on the altar. He wished the queen to do the same, but was informed that her crown was fastened to her hair.

An incident occurred at the return of the procession, which, in ancient days, would have been considered as an omen to be averted by a thousand sacrifices. The largest and most valuable diamond fell from his majesty's diadem, and was for some time lost;[1] but it was soon afterwards found and restored. At dinner, earl Talbot, the high steward, contrived to offend as many persons as possible: he took away the table of the knights of the bath, and that of the barons of the cinque ports, in the most insulting manner: he had also refused one to the lord mayor and aldermen; on which occasion Mr. Beckford told him, that it was hard indeed to refuse a table to the city of London, whom it would cost £10,000 to banquet the king; adding, that his lordship would repent of it if they had not a table; and this spirited remonstrance soon procured one. The champion is said to have acted his part well, riding into the hall on the charger which had carried George II. in the battle of Dettingen: the galleries were crowded with persons of distinction; and many peeresses, having been dressed over night, slept in arm-chairs; persons being at hand to wake them if they disturbed their head-dresses. On the king's complain-

[1] This incident was brought up at the conclusion of the American war, and quoted as a remarkable occurrence.

ing of the few existing precedents for these ceremonies, lord Effingham, the earl marshal, owned that his office had been strangely neglected; 'but,' added he, 'I have taken care that the next coronation shall be ordered in the most exact manner imaginable.' After all, no great public festival ever passed off with more eclat. Their majesties were very popular; the national prosperity stood at its greatest height; the heads of administration were acceptable to the people; and not a single accident occurred during the day.

The last splendid pageant of this year was the civic feast, on the ninth of November, at which all the royal family appeared. The king and queen witnessed the lord mayor's procession amid the acclamations of their subjects, under a canopy at the house of David Barclay, a quaker, son of the celebrated author of 'The Apology.' This worthy citizen had reached his eighty-third year; and the present was the third occasion on which a king of England had been his guest. The entertainment at Guildhall was so magnificent, that one of the foreign ambassadors observed, it was a banquet fit only to be given by one king to another; and, when the royal family retired, his majesty, addressing himself to the lord mayor, said, 'to be elegantly entertained, I must come into the city.' This fête cost upwards of £7000. A few days afterwards, at a court of common council, a motion was made, and unanimously carried, 'that his majesty's statue be erected on the Royal Exchange, among those of his predecessors; and that pictures of his majesty and his royal consort be put up in Guildhall.'

During the suspension of those projects which were to make Spain repent of her presumption, the new parliament met, on the third of November. Sir John Cust was unanimously elected speaker of the commons; and on the sixth he was presented to his majesty; when the king, having first signified his intire approbation of their choice, thus addressed himself to both houses:—

'My lords and gentlemen:—At the opening of the first parliament summoned and elected under my authority, I with pleasure notice an event which has made me completely happy, and given universal joy to my loving subjects. My marriage with a princess eminently distinguished by every virtue and amiable endowment, while it affords me all possible domestic comfort, cannot but highly contribute to the happiness of my kingdoms, which has been, and always shall be, the first object in every action of my life.

'It has been my earnest wish that this first period of my

reign might be marked with another felicity; the restoring of the blessings of peace to my people, and putting an end to the calamities of war, under which so great a part of Europe suffers: but though overtures were made to me, and to my good brother and ally, the king of Prussia, by the several belligerent powers, in order to a general pacification, for which purpose a congress was appointed; and propositions were made to me by France, for a particular peace with that crown, which were followed by an actual negotiation; yet that congress has not hitherto taken place, and the negotiation with France is intirely broken off.

'The sincerity of my disposition to effectuate this good work has been manifested in the progress of it; and I have the consolation to reflect, that the continuance of the war, and the farther effusion of christian blood, to which it was the desire of my heart to put a stop, cannot with justice be imputed to me.

'Our military operations have been in no degree suspended or delayed; and it has pleased God to grant us farther important successes, by the conquest of the islands of Belleisle and Dominica; and by the reduction of Pondicherry, which has in a manner annihilated the French power in the East Indies. In other parts, where the enemy's numbers were greatly superior, their principal designs and projects have been generally disappointed, by a conduct which does the highest honor to the distinguished capacity of my general prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and by the valor of my troops. The magnanimity and ability of the king of Prussia have eminently appeared in resisting such numerous armies, and surmounting so great difficulties.

'In this situation I am glad to have an opportunity of receiving the truest information of the sense of my people, by a new choice of their representatives: I am fully persuaded you will agree with me in opinion, that the steady exertion of our most vigorous efforts, in every part where the enemy may be attacked with advantage, is the only means that can be productive of such a peace as may with reason be expected from our successes. It is therefore my fixed resolution, with your concurrence and support, to carry on the war in the most effectual manner, for the interest and advantage of my kingdoms; and to maintain, to the utmost of my power, the good faith and honor of my crown, by adhering firmly to engagements contracted with my allies. In this I will persevere, until my enemies, moved by their own losses and distresses, and touched with the miseries of so many nations, shall yield to the equitable condi-

tions of an honorable peace; in which case, as well as in the prosecution of the war, I do assure you, no consideration whatever shall make me depart from the true interests of these my kingdoms, and the honor and dignity of my crown.

'Gentlemen of the house of commons:—I am heartily sorry that the necessity of large supplies appears so clearly from what has already been mentioned. The proper estimates for the services of the ensuing year shall be laid before you; and I desire you to grant me such supplies as may enable me to prosecute the war with vigor, and as your own welfare and security, in the present critical conjecture, require; that we may happily put the last hand to this great work. Whatsoever you give shall be duly and faithfully applied.

'I dare say, your affectionate regard for me and the queen makes you go before me in what I am next to mention—the making an adequate and honorable provision for her support, in case she should survive me. This is what not only her royal dignity, but her own merit calls for; and I earnestly recommend it to your consideration.

'My lords and gentlemen:—I have such confidence in the zeal and good affections of this parliament, that I think it quite superfluous to use any exhortations to excite you to a right conduct. I will only add, that there never was a situation in which unanimity, firmness, and despatch were more necessary for the safety, honor and true interest of Great Britain.'

The commons, beside the usual address, resolved, on the seventeenth of November, to send a message of congratulation to the queen, on the occasion of her auspicious nuptials; and two days afterwards showed the sincerity of their professions, by making for her a provision equal to that which had been settled on queen Caroline; £100,000 per annum, with Richmond old park, and Somerset-house annexed, in case she should survive his majesty: a patent also passed the privy seal, granting to her majesty the sum of £40,000 yearly for the better support of her dignity. The annuity was charged on all or any part of those crown revenues which, by an act of last session, were consolidated with the aggregate fund. The royal assent was given to this bill on the second of December, when the queen, who was present in a chair of state at the king's right hand, rose up, and made her obeisance in a very graceful manner: the speaker also renewed assurances of duty and affection from the commons, blended with the most respectful and gratifying compliments to her majesty. Soon afterwards a bill was passed for the repeal of the compelling clause in the insol-

vent act; and the estimates having remained about a month before the house, supplies for the ensuing year were adjusted: 70,000 seamen were voted; and of land forces it was agreed to maintain 67,676 effective men, beside the militia of England, the two regiments of fencibles in North Britain, the provincial troops in America, and 67,167 German auxiliaries, for the support of the continental war: as some deficiencies of last session were to be made good, a loan of £12,000,000 was found necessary, which occasioned the imposition of some new taxes, including an additional one on windows, and an increased duty on spirituous liquors. The various sums voted from the twenty-first of November to the twenty-second of December amounted almost to £16,000,000, to which were added soon afterwards £2,000,000 for the defence of Portugal; so that altogether the supplies for the year 1762 amounted to more than £18,000,000.

It was not to be expected that such large sums should be granted without opposition, or debates on their expediency, particularly at the present juncture, when the sentiments of the people, and especially those of the court, respecting the German war, were considered to be on the point of change. The opponents of the continental system now appealed to another year's experience in support of their assertions, that no adequate advantage could result even from success; they represented the system as most absurd, in which defeat, accompanied with its usual bad effects, and victory tending only to rob us of the fruits of our naval superiority, drained the exchequer to such a degree, that we should be in the end obliged to purchase a peace by the restitution of all our maritime conquests. It was also urged, that England can never prudently engage in a continental war against France without a concurrence of other powers in her favor; this being a maxim of king William, and the foundation of that grand alliance which secured the liberty of Europe: on the same principle the contest under the great duke of Marlborough was successfully carried on; but to engage with France, when those very states, wherein our safety lies, are combined against us, must necessarily end in ruin.

In addition to these arguments, the same party anticipated a reply which they expected from their antagonists, that the war in Germany had occasioned a fortunate diversion in favor of Great Britain, by drawing off the forces and attention of France from her navy, from the defence of her colonies, and from any formidable enterprises against this country: all which was denied. 'In the beginning of the war,' it so was urged,

'while their marine could possibly be supported, the French attended sedulously to that object; and while they saw any probability of invading England with success, they entertained no idea of marching into Germany: so little was Hanover considered in danger, that troops were brought thence to defend this country: but when France perceived that England was guarded against insult; that her own navy was destroyed, and her colonies in danger; then it was, that she betook herself to Germany, transferring the war to the only quarter where she could act with effect, and where even victory itself would be ruinous to her adversary: so that the German war was not, on the part of England, a war of diversion, but one of defence, in favor of a barren electorate, which, if put up to sale, would not fetch half the sum annually expended on it; and in support of an ally, from whom no service in return could ever be expected. A third part of the money thus squandered on the continent, if it had been employed in augmenting our navy, would have deprived France of all her West Indian islands, with the profits of her external commerce; and would have obliged her to accept such terms of peace as England might have been disposed to grant.'

After having thus generally commented on the infatuation of the British cabinet, in renouncing the advantages of a naval superiority, and allowing the enemy to choose his own ground for action, the speakers animadverted with severity on the particular engagements we had made with some of the continental powers. 'We had,' they declared, 'officiously interfered in the internal broils of the Empire, and taken a part in disputes, which would have been better adjusted without our interference: we had not only sent the flower of our armies to defend the territories of certain petty princes, but had contracted enormous debts to pay those potentates for assisting us to guard their rights and fight their battles. Is England (they asked) to be, as it were, the knight-errant of Europe, neglecting her own interests in the pursuit of foreign phantoms? Are we to waste our resources on Hessians, Hanoverians, and others; who, if they deserve the name of allies, serve only to protract the struggles of a system, in which nothing would profit us so much as an early and total defeat? But even these connections, burdensome as they are, do not display half so much folly as the treaty made with the king of Prussia, to whom we are paying annually a sum exceeding all the subsidies granted to our German allies in the wars of queen Anne; while he is so far from being able to afford us any assistance, that he is

scarcely in a condition to defend his own territories. We consider him, it is true, as the great defender of the protestant cause: but how lightly he thinks of religion, let his own writings testify: what mischief he has done to protestantism, this very war will show. He invaded and cruelly oppressed the protestant country of Saxony, where no one was molested on account of his faith: even among the Roman catholics, persecution had lost much of its edge, when he revived the memory of it; and by forcing the popish powers into a stricter union, brought more troubles on the divided protestants than they had ever experienced during the utmost rancor of a religious war.'

The opposite party were not wanting to themselves in the ingenuity of their reply. They ridiculed the idea of reverting to the reign of William or of Anne, for the purpose of examining the principles of a continental war, or of comparing the policy and resources of the contending parties. 'The present time,' said they, 'gives us the only just criterion; and here we have manifestly the advantage: our success in this contest, though we stand alone and unassisted, proves incontestably our superiority over France.'

In answer to the charge of folly in our waging war on the continent, they ascribed to this very circumstance the success of all our operations. The attention of our rival was thereby distracted between her different enterprises on sea and land: grasping at two objects, she had missed both; and all her exertions had ended in the ruin of her trade, the utter destruction of her marine, the loss of her colonies, and the impending horrors of a national bankruptcy. 'And has she,' they asked, 'made any progress in Germany to counterbalance her reverses in other quarters? Far from it: at this instant she is less advanced than when she entered the country; and that, too, after the loss of so much wealth, and the destruction of at least 100,000 men. Have not our enemies been defeated also on the continent? Has not Hanover been recovered and protected? Has not the king of Prussia been, at all events, preserved from destruction? And have not the liberties of Germany hitherto been secured? Had we indeed remained at rest, and been content to see a great part of the empire in the possession of France, and the rest of it receiving her laws, the war would soon have been brought to an end; and we should have had to contend with our antagonist strengthened by victory, conquests, and alliances; we alone, against the whole force of her extended monarchy and revenue.'

They urged farther 'that if the support of protestantism be

any part of our duty, that religious system must suffer grievously by the ruin of Frederic; for though the writings attributed to him, if really his, reflect disgrace on his character as a man; yet, as a king, he is the natural protector of protestantism in the German empire: and it will always be his interest to defend it.'

Whatever the new ministry might have thought concerning the original policy of the war, they saw it could not yet be honorably or consistently relinquished: the national faith was pledged to our allies; and it appeared to reflecting persons, that one more campaign, carried on with spirit, would lower the tone of France, and bring the contest to an end. All this opposition therefore against the continental system was happily overruled, though it certainly tended to confirm the new ministry in their intentions to withdraw British subsidies from Prussia.

On the twenty-second of October, lord Halifax, the new viceroy of Ireland, met his first parliament. In an opening speech, after alluding to the loss they had sustained in the death of George II., its happy reparation by the accession of his present majesty, the royal nuptials, and some other topics, as matters of course, he earnestly recommended to them the care of improving the natural resources of the kingdom, by encouraging agriculture, the surest support of every state; and by regulating and improving manufactures, which are so subservient to commerce. 'Your linen trade,' said he 'has been long and justly an object of public encouragement; but much still remains to carry to its full extent a manufacture for which there is so large a demand, which is so various in its branches, and which, with due attention, might be rendered as considerable a source of wealth to the whole, as it is now to a part of this kingdom. His lordship then brought the protestant charter-schools under notice; which merited protection, not only as supports of religion, but as seminaries of useful arts and virtuous industry. After affectionately exhorting them to lay aside, as much as possible, their public and private animosities, he concluded with expressing an earnest desire to maintain the honor and promote the service of the crown, to forward the united interests and preserve the constitution of both kingdoms; hoping 'that he might be able to represent in the warmest manner to his majesty the zeal and unanimity of this portion of his subjects; and to carry with him, on his return into the royal presence, the good opinion, the affection, and the hearts of the people of Ireland.'

Each house voted an address full of loyalty to the king, and

of gratitude to the lord-lieutenant, extolling his distinguished abilities, extensive knowlege, and great experience in the commercial interests of Great Britain; auguring the happiest results from his lordship's government, and promising hearty co-operation in the measures proposed to their consideration.

During the preceding viceroyalty of the duke of Bedford, this country had been under the dominion of the lords justices,[2] who conducted every department of it without control. they had lately made an attempt to gain popularity by expressing doubts in the privy council concerning the propriety of sending over a money bill, lest the rejection of it by the Irish house of commons should occasion a dissolution of the new parliament, and thereby cause much dissatisfaction. In this they were opposed by lord chancellor Bowes and his friends; and party violence was inflamed to a high degree: but the popular coalition prevailed so far as to alter the established custom, by sending a bill not for a supply to the king, but relating to a vote of credit for Ireland; a measure, to which every objection made against the usual mode of proceeding was applicable.

In this state of affairs the earl of Halifax took on himself the vice-regal government; and his high character for independence, integrity, and firmness warranted expectations of a vigorous and successful administration: while however he was securing himself a well-earned popularity, by promoting the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the country, and encouraging the charter-schools with a due regard to the protestant establishment, an insidious attempt was made to lessen his reputation for independence, by a resolution of the committee of accounts, augmenting the lord lieutenant's salary to the amount of £16,000 per annum; which was afterwards sanctioned by parliament on the twenty-sixth of February, 1762. The liberality of this vote claimed his lordship's thanks, though he rejected the application of it to himself: but he recommended that the augmentation should be made provisionally, and conferred on his successor; by which dignified and disinterested conduct he eluded the aim of faction, preserved his high character, and procured many liberal votes from parliament in favor of the objects alluded to in his speech.

Internal tranquillity however was disturbed before any bene-

[2] These were the primate, lord Shannon, and Mr. Ponsonby, speaker of the house of commons. At this time it was the custom for the lord-lieutenant to reside in England, except for a very short time, during his government.

ficial results from his patriotic measures could take effect. By the abolition of woollen manufactures in the southern districts employment for the people naturally decreased; and this suffered a farther diminution by the conversion of considerable quantities of land from a state of tillage to that of pasturage; the price of cattle having greatly risen in consequence of a fatal disorder which prevailed among them on the continent. These lands were let to wealthy graziers, and great numbers of the peasantry were deprived not only of their work, but even of their habitations; though many small farms were still left to the cottagers at rack-rent; and the landlords, in order to lighten their burdens, allowed them rights of commonage: but afterwards, notwithstanding all engagements, they enclosed the commons, without making any recompense to their miserable tenants. Being thus provoked to resentment, and joined by numbers whom idleness had driven into vice and disorder, these unhappy people assembled together nightly, and began to take the redress of grievances into their own hands. Having begun by demolishing the fences of common lands, they thence obtained the name of levellers; but afterwards were distinguished by that of white-boys, from the practice of wearing white shirts over their usual apparel. Binding themselves by solemn oaths, they proceeded to put their designs into execution; seizing horses and arms, houghing cattle, and committing acts of great cruelty on persons obnoxious to them, especially tithe-proctors; against whom the landlords and graziers contrived very artfully to direct their resentment, in order to remove it from themselves. The persons thus attacked were stripped naked, and made to ride on horses, with saddles formed of the skins of hedgehogs; or they were buried up to the chin in holes lined with thorns that were then trodden down close to their bodies.

The royal troops were obliged to act in the suppression of these enormities: a considerable number of offenders suffered the extreme penalty of the law; but too many were allowed to escape by a mistaken lenity of the judges, who were thought to be over scrupulous in the consideration of evidence; whence it happened that such disorders long continued to infest the country. As these disturbers of the peace were all Roman catholics, a popish plot was suspected, for massacring the protestants and introducing the Pretender prince Charles; but, although several oaths were produced, charging some of the catholic clergy, and especially Dr. Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel, with promoting such a conspiracy, no charge was openly

confirmed in a court of justice. A motion was made in parliament to investigate the affair, but rejected; and thus, the source of the disorder remaining unknown, it was difficult to apply any lasting remedy.

Before the close of this present year, the British cabinet found itself under the necessity of justifying, if not the measures proposed by Mr. Pitt in council, at least his opinion respecting the hostile nature of that compact between France and Spain, which had manifested from the beginning so evident a tendency toward a rupture between the latter country and Great Britain: for some time, indeed, the earl of Bristol was inclined to rely on the amicable disposition of the Spanish court, and the apparently ingenuous conduct of general Wall, its minister; with which sentiments of their ambassador those of the British cabinet fully corresponded: but as France began industriously to spread reports of the approaching hostility of Spain in consequence of the engagements she had contracted it was thought expedient to demand from the cabinet of Madrid satisfactory assurances of its pacific intentions.

The earl of Bristol therefore received orders from lord Egremont to use the most pressing instances to obtain a communication of the treaty acknowleged to have been concluded between the two houses of Bourbon; or, at any rate, of those articles in it which could, by any particular engagements, affect the interests of Great Britain. So anxious however was the British ministry to preserve their friendly relations with Spain unbroken, that, by 'a secret confidential' despatch, it was left to the ambassador's own judgment, if the Spanish cabinet should refuse the required communication, to accept in lieu of it a solemn assurance, 'given on the king's royal word, and signified in writing,' that the treaty was in no respects injurious to his Britannic majesty's interests: this however was to be taken *ad referendum*, and to be transmitted to the British court.

Before the arrival of this despatch, lord Bristol had perceived a great alteration in general Wall's manner, and a considerable agitation in the Spanish councils. Alarmed too by prevalent rumors of an approaching rupture, and apprehending the existence of some agreement to that effect between the courts of France and Spain, he demanded an explicit avowal of intentions: but the Spanish fleet, with its rich cargo, being now safely arrived in port, and the armies of France and her allies in Germany having acquired a certain degree of superiority, the minister's tone assumed a corresponding elevation. Instead of giving a specific answer, he recapitulated a list of complaints

against England, accusing her of rejecting the reasonable concessions of France, with a view to ruin that power, if possible, and then to seize on the Spanish provinces in America. 'But,' added he, 'if his catholic majesty's dominions are to be overwhelmed, I shall advise him at least to arm his subjects, and not to appear any longer as a passive victim.' It was in vain for lord Bristol to press the subject farther at this time; but in a subsequent conference, when Mr. Wall was less exasperated, he obtained from him an avowal that 'the king of Spain thought it time to open his eyes, and not to suffer an allied monarch and a relation to receive such injurious terms as had been prescribed to him by an insulting foe:' he also acknowleged that his catholic majesty had renewed his family compacts with France, but refused any explanation of their nature or extent.

It was not possible for the British cabinet, after having rejected Mr. Pitt's counsel, to receive this intelligence with indifference: the crisis in fact was at length arrived; and a despatch was forwarded to our ambassador, expressly requiring him to demand an immediate and categorical explanation of the intentions of the Spanish ministry; also explicitly to assure them that any procrastination, ambiguity, or evasion, would be considered sufficient grounds for authorising his Britannic majesty to take proper measures for the honor of his crown and the protection of his subjects: at the same time lord Bristol was instructed not only to avoid all irritating expressions and harshness of manner; but even yet to accept the explanation *ad referendum*: but in case of a peremptory refusal to give satisfaction, or the acknowlegement of an intention to join France in hostilities against England, he was ordered to quit Madrid without delay, after having signified to Mr. Wall that such conduct could not be viewed by his Britannic majesty but as an aggression, or an absolute declaration of war.

Every conference between our ambassador and the Spanish minister, after this despatch, although accompanied with reciprocal assurances of friendly feelings, failed to produce any satisfactory adjustment of the question, or any specific declaration of Spanish designs. Soon afterwards Mr. Wall began even to assume a cold and formal manner, demanding proofs, not expressions of a pacific disposition, in the redress of long-existing grievances; and affecting to consider it derogatory to his master's dignity to gratify British curiosity regarding the articles of a treaty. Still lord Bristol did not relax his endeavors: on the receipt of lord Egremont's last despatches, he solicited an interview with the minister, and obtained it on

the fifth of December: but his hopes were as heretofore eluded, though an opening was still apparently left for reconciliation: he attempted to take advantage of this in another conference on the seventh; but, failing then also, he put his interrogatories in the most decided manner, and demanded a categorical answer: this or war was the alternative.

The minister was not quite prepared for such an appeal; 'for I cannot describe,' says lord Bristol, 'the surprise Mr. Wall expressed.' Taking advantage of this emotion, he again urged every argument that might induce Spain to avert the miseries of war: and, after setting forth the fatal consequences which must result from the denial of a satisfactory answer, he even pressed Mr. Wall to conquer the effects of an indisposition under which he was then laboring, so far as to wait on the king himself, with the British ambassador's demand reduced to writing. In compliance with this suggestion, the minister did attend his catholic majesty with the proposed memorial; but brought back an answer, throwing all the causes and intentions of hostility on the British cabinet, and intimating that the ambassador might depart when, and in what manner, he pleased.

An account of these transactions was transmitted by the Spanish court to its ambassador in London, the condé de Fuentes, with directions for him also to take his departure: before he obeyed these instructions, however, he thought proper to publish a memorial, setting forth the haughtiness and unmeasurable ambition of him who had lately held the reins of government, and who still appeared to hold them, though by another hand: he dilated also on the indignities offered to the Spanish court, which alone had prevented his catholic majesty from complying with the requisitions made to him: and he finally declared that the obnoxious treaty had not any relation to the present war; for, although it contained an article for the mutual guarantee of the dominions of the two monarchs, it specified that such guarantee should only extend to those possessions which might remain to France after the peace.

This attempt to create discord in the British cabinet and nation totally failed. The manifesto was answered by lord Egremont in a statement highly creditable to himself and his colleagues: it pointed out the irregularity and indecency of appealing to the people in a discussion between two sovereigns: it reprobated personal invective, as inconsistent with the dignity of the high personages concerned, and irrelevant to the subjects in question: it confined itself to facts, and recited them with an accurate reference to dates and documents; specifying the

instances of hostility manifested by Spain; demonstrating from them the progress of that hostility, with our temperate and repeated attempts at conciliation; and showing, lastly, that her mode of proceeding amounted virtually to a declaration of war.

Before the close of this year his majesty completed the purchase of Buckingham-house for £21,000, and presented it to the queen; who immediately fitted it up, and ornamented it with some choice paintings from the royal collection. The intention of their majesties, in thus selecting a residence distinct from the official palace of St. James, was to retire from court etiquette to the enjoyment of domestic comfort and tranquillity, except when the forms of state required the assumption of regal ceremony. Some were found to censure this system, talking of Asiatic seclusion, and seeming to think that it would have been better, if the bustle and frivolity of an open court, like that of Versailles, had succeeded to the stiff German grandeur and formal card-parties of the two preceding reigns: but George III. had better taste and purer principles than to sanction by his example the prevalence of levity or licentiousness: he also rightly judged, that if he paid strict attention to the forms of government, and to public ceremonials,[3] when necessary, he had as good a right as any of his subjects to avail himself of British liberty, and pass his leisure hours according to that sense of propriety which was entertained both by himself and by his royal consort: though stiff forms of etiquette still prevailed within the royal circle, a step was thus made toward that social, yet dignified, intercourse between the sovereign and her subjects, which distinguishes our own times.

During this year the grave closed over two eminent prelates, and principal antagonists in the celebrated Bangorian controversy, bishops Hoadley and Sherlock. These learned men began the career of life together as literary rivals, at Catherine-hall, in the university of Cambridge: though they adopted opposite opinions respecting church and state, they both arrived at the

[3] That he did so, and strove to render the forms of court etiquette as agreeable as was consistent with propriety, appears from the description by Horace Walpole of the levees at St. James's:—'The king himself,' says he, 'seems all good nature, and wishing to satisfy everybody: all his speeches are obliging: I saw him again yesterday, and was surprised to find the levee-room had lost so intirely the air of the lion's den. The sovereign don't stand in one spot, with his eyes royally fixed on the ground, and dropping bits of German news: he walks about, and speaks to everybody. I saw him afterwards on the throne, where he is graceful and genteel, sits with dignity, and reads his answers to addresses well.'

episcopal bench: each was long considered, as it were, the representative of his respective party; Sherlock of the high church tories, Hoadley of the low church whigs: both however appeared equally attached to the Hanoverian succession. Sherlock succeeded Hoadley in the see of Bangor, and afterwards in that of Salisbury: but at last they diverged, the former to London, and the latter to Winchester. In this same year died Samuel Richardson, author of 'Sir Charles Grandison,' and of other novels, which delighted and instructed the age for which he wrote: also Dr. Stephen Hales, a learned divine and great natural philosopher; whose useful invention of ventilators will be a more lasting memorial of him, and of the services he rendered to society, than the monument erected to his memory in Westminster-abbey, by the princess-dowager of Wales, to whom he was clerk of the closet.

CHAP. III.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED).—1762.

Determination of the British cabinet—War declared against Spain—Proceedings in Parliament—Combination of France and Spain against Portugal—Firmness of his Portuguese majesty—Proposals made to him; his reply, and rejection of them—Declaration of war by France and Spain—King of England's message to parliament—Subsidy voted for Portugal—King's speech on the adjournment of parliament—Motives of the duke of Newcastle for retiring from office—His noble conduct at resigning it—Lord Bute succeeds him—Other changes in administration—Duke of Newcastle forms a political connection with the duke of Cumberland in opposition to ministers—State of the king's sentiments with regard to Prussia—Death of the empress Catharine—Effect of it on the affairs of Prussia—Measures which led to the refusal of the British subsidy to Frederic—His resentment—His operations in Germany—His danger from the change of affairs in Russia, and escape—His success against Austria—Operations on the side of Westphalia between prince Ferdinand and the French generals—Affairs of Portugal, and successful resistance to the Bourbon confederacy—English efforts by sea—Conquest of Martinique and other West Indian islands—St. John's in Newfoundland captured by the French, but retaken—Attempts against the Spanish West Indian commerce—Attack and capture of the Havannah—Capture of Manilla, and of the Santissima Trinidada in the East Indies; also of the Hermione—Failure of an expedition against Buenos Ayres—French and Spaniards incline to peace, and send to open negotiations—Views of the minister and of other parties on this subject—Preliminaries of peace settled between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal—Birth of the prince of Wales—The king's encouragement of literature and the fine arts—Addresses on the birth of the young prince, &c.

THE British cabinet, irritated by the prevarication of France, and forced into a contest with Spain, determined to carry on the war with spirit and perseverance; while the machine of government, put into motion by the energy of Mr. Pitt, continued for a time its progress, by means of the impulse which it had acquired. A distinct account of the exertions made to prevent a rupture with the Spanish court, and of the circumstances which rendered it unavoidable, was given in his majesty's declaration on the second of January; and on the

fourth war was formally proclaimed. On the nineteenth parliament met after its adjournment; and the king informed both houses of the measures which he had been obliged to adopt during their recess.

The commons were unanimous in approbation of his majesty's conduct, and in their assurances of vigorous support: the lords also agreed to an address containing similar sentiments; but the consideration of the king's speech occasioned a debate on the general conduct of the war, which elicited considerable varieties of opinion. On the fifth of February a motion was made, reprobating the enormous expense of German campaigns; affirming that, notwithstanding every effort, we never could maintain a sufficient number of men in that quarter to cope with the French armies; and recommending a recall of the British troops, for the security of our own dominions, and as a method of diminishing the public burdens. This motion was strongly opposed, and the previous question carried by a majority of 105 to sixteen; seven members however of the minority, and among them the duke of Bedford, a cabinet minister, entered a long argumentative protest on the journals, expressive of dissent; and this document, added to the previous debate in the commons on the same subject, had a considerable effect on public opinion; whence it became evident, that unless the ensuing campaign should prove decisive, the necessary supplies for another would not be obtained without great difficulty.

In the house of commons the ablest supporter of the minister was Mr. Fox, who for political experience, and talent in debate, was superior to every other member of the cabinet. During the present session, he had no particular opportunity of exercising his powers; for no regular opposition was yet organized, and the measures of our governors were supported by the energetic eloquence of Mr. Pitt, who attacked none of their acts, and impugned none of their propositions, unless he was compelled to speak in vindication of his own policy. A few wise alterations were effected in the militia laws, by which an exact line was drawn between such persons as were liable to serve, and such as were exempt. Relief was also given to the public brewers; whose houses were threatened by tumultuous mobs in London, irritated by the additional duty imposed on beer. Among the private bills was one of great importance, enabling the duke of Bridgewater to extend his canal, so as to form a communication with Liverpool: many branches of this great inland navigation have since been made, intersecting the

surrounding districts; and the duke lived to benefit himself and his country in the completion of an undertaking, which, as far as public utility is concerned, is scarcely second to any in Europe.

Soon after Spain had thrown herself into the arms of France, these two powers determined on a rupture with Portugal. France was particularly anxious to promote this design for the purpose, not only of injuring Great Britain, but of seizing on the valuable colonies of our ancient ally; while Charles III. was excited to action by the hope of eventually adding Portugal itself to the dominions of the Spanish crown. As there was no pretence to justify such an aggression, so there was no attention paid even to appearances: large armies were assembled on the Portuguese frontiers, the exportation of corn from Spain was prohibited, and the ambassadors of the two allied powers presented a joint memorial to the king of Portugal; in which, after insisting strongly on the maritime tyranny exercised by England over other nations, and their intention of curbing it, they requested his alliance and co-operation: not seeming to doubt his ready acquiescence in this request, they declared that their troops were assembled for the purpose of garrisoning his fortresses against any danger from the naval armaments of their foe; and finally they allowed his majesty four days to send in a categorical answer; after which period any farther deliberation on his part would be considered as a negative, and their troops would enter his dominions.

On this trying occasion the firmness of king Joseph did not forsake him; but he remained true to his honor and his old allies. To the insulting proposals of these pretended friends, he replied, that his resources were incapable of supporting a war: besides, that between Great Britain and his country there existed ancient and uninterrupted alliances; that his Britannic majesty had given him no offence; and he could not declare war against him consistently with any principles of integrity or justice: in this situation therefore he was determined to confine himself to a system of self-defence; and, by observing a strict neutrality, reserve his exertions for the more happy task of mediating between friends.

In reply to these equitable propositions, their most catholic and christian majesties, on the first of April, sent to the court of Lisbon a second memorial, more imperious and unjustifiable than the first; in which it was denied that his alliance with England could be called one of defence: 'it must necessarily,' said they, 'be turned into an offensive one, from the situation

of the Portuguese territory and the nature of the British power which can scarcely be kept up by sea without the harbors and the wealth of Portugal.' They endeavored also to awaken his jealousy, by representing his country as bowed down beneath the yoke of England, and to claim his gratitude for their enabling him to shake it off.

Although his Portuguese majesty foresaw the consequences of rejecting the proposed alliance, he still maintained 'that the treaties of friendship and commerce subsisting between his country and Great Britain were not only innocent, but ratified by the laws of God and of nations.' He exhorted his opponents to consider what a state public safety and public morals would be reduced to, if such an example of injustice should be generally adopted. He declared that he was determined to preserve the strictest neutrality; but if that neutrality should be attacked, and his kingdom invaded, he would endeavour to repel hostilities with his own forces, aided by those of his allies. The consequence of this noble declaration was, that France and Spain withdrew their ambassadors from the court of Lisbon, and issued a joint declaration of war against Portugal.

Just before the conclusion of this negotiation, on the eleventh of May, the following message was laid before the house of commons:—'His majesty, relying on the known zeal and affection of his faithful commons, and considering that in this conjuncture emergencies may arise, of the utmost importance, and attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them; and his majesty also taking into serious consideration the imminent danger with which the kingdom of Portugal, an ancient and natural ally of his crown, is threatened, and of what importance the preservation of that kingdom is to the commercial interests of this country,—is desirous that the house would enable him to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the year 1762; and to take such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprise or design of his enemies against his majesty or his allies.'

This message was taken into consideration on the thirteenth; and the house, after a short debate, in which Mr. Pitt spoke with great animation and consistency in favor of our faithful ally, concurred in granting to his majesty £1,000,000 for the purposes therein specified.

Both houses sat for a short time to complete the business before them; and on the second of June they adjourned, after

a speech from the king, expressing approbation of the zeal, unanimity, and despatch, which had distinguished their proceedings. Adhering still to his resolution of continuing the war for the sole purpose of obtaining peace on just and honorable conditions, he noticed the happy turn given to the affairs of his ally, the king of Prussia, by the death of the Russian empress; the concerns of Spain and Portugal; and the important conquests lately made by British arms in the West Indies. After some other topics relating to the public burdens, and his determination to economise the resources of his country as far as was consistent with its safety and honor, he expressed a strong hope that the members of both houses would continue to diffuse throughout their several counties that spirit of concord which they themselves had so constantly exhibited.

This concluding portion of the speech was supposed to have a reference to the growing discontent of the people, on account of some recent changes in the cabinet; where a want of unanimity had been felt since the retirement of Mr. Pitt. It has been already observed that the duke of Newcastle, its nominal head, entered public life, and passed through a long career of office, steadily and uniformly supporting that great aristocratic combination which the earl of Bute was desirous to weaken or dissolve, as encroaching too far on the independence of the sovereign. To his promised exertions in accomplishing a design so agreeable to his royal master, the favor experienced by this minister was generally ascribed; and which, galling as it was to the rest of the cabinet, particularly annoyed that ancient servant of the crown, the duke of Newcastle. Scarcely reconciled to the ascendency of Mr. Pitt himself, he could not endure to be thought second to lord Bute, or to be thwarted by him in that line of conduct which his own principles had dictated, and Mr. Pitt's wisdom had sanctioned. As soon therefore as lord Bute's determination to withhold the British subsidy as the readiest means of forcing Frederic into a peace, became known to the cabinet, the duke waited on the favorite, and peremptorily insisted on £2,000,000 being appropriated to the payment of this subsidy, and prosecution of the continental war. When his lordship expressed a decided repugnance to this proposal, the other declared his intention of retiring from office unless it were conceded; to which intimation lord Bute dryly replied, 'that if he resigned, the peace might be retarded;' but he neither requested him to continue in office, said nor a civil thing to him while they remained together. His grace then went to St. James's, demanded an audience, and

announced his unalterable resolution to relinquish his station if the subsidy to Prussia was not continued: the king replied, 'that he should regret such a determination, because he was persuaded that the duke wished well to his service;' and thus ended the interview.

His resignation followed on the second of May; and nothing in the long exercise of his power became this veteran statesman so much as the manner in which he quitted it; for when he was offered a pension, as a debt due for past services, and the great detriment which his private fortune had sustained from his uniform zeal for the house of Hanover, he resolutely declined all such remuneration, declaring;—'that if he could no longer be permitted to serve his country, he was at least determined not to be a burden on it:[4] that if his private fortune had suffered by his loyalty, it was his pleasure, his glory, and his pride; and that he desired no reward but his majesty's approbation.'[5]

'The favorite (says a writer before alluded to) undoubtedly committed a great error in allowing the duke of Newcastle to quit his ministry. It is impossible to imagine a tool better suited to his purposes than that which he thus threw away, or rather put into the hands of his enemies. If Newcastle had been suffered to play at being first minister, Bute might have securely and quietly enjoyed the substance of power. The gradual introduction of tories into all the departments of government might have been effected without any violent

[4] 'You will undoubtedly lament with me,' says lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell, 'that the duke of Newcastle should retire from business at such a juncture; but if you knew the whole, you would not condemn the step he has taken, and taken with moderation, temper, and dignity.'—Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. iv. p. 446.

[5] 'At present,' says sir Andrew Mitchell's correspondent, 'we have nothing to talk of but changes, which fall heavily on the Newcastle party. All those of his grace's friends whom he has drawn into opposition with him, some of whom are little able to make such a sacrifice, are or will be turned out. It moves one to compassion to think of the poor old duke himself; a man once possessed of £25,000 per annum of landed estate, with £10,000 in emoluments of government, now reduced to an estate of scarcely £6000 per annum, and going into retirement, not to say sinking into contempt, with not so much as a feather in his cap, and but such a circle of friends as he has deprived of their places. The three lieutenancies he had, the last things he continued to hold, have this week been taken from him: that of Middlesex has been given to lord North, which will greatly increase his power and interest in the county.'—Ellis's Original Letters, vol. iv. p. 454.

clamour, if the chief of the great whig connection had been ostensibly at the head of affairs. This was strongly represented to Bute by lord Mansfield, a man who may justly be called the father of modern toryism, modified to an order of things under which the house of commons is the most powerful body in the state.'

Lord Bute succeeded the duke at the head of the treasury, taking the reins of government with almost as little experience as Phaeton, and meeting with a fall almost as soon. Mr. George Grenville was appointed secretary of state, but soon afterwards exchanged his post with the earl of Halifax, who had left Ireland to preside over the admiralty. Lord Barrington was removed from his office, and appointed treasurer of the navy; being succeeded in the exchequer by sir Francis Dashwood. The duke of Devonshire no long time afterwards resigned, or, as some accounts says, was dismissed from, the post of lord high chamberlain: his name was also most ungraciously struck off, by the king's own hand, from the list of privy counsellors: even the earl of Hardwicke retired from public business; and though several of the duke's friends retained or exchanged their places, other noblemen and commoners of distinction ranged themselves in opposition to the tory ministry.

During the summer, the duke of Newcastle adhered to his determination of not opposing the government; he also professed an earnest desire for peace; but he did not conceal from his friend lord Barrington an inclination to accept the privy seal, if lord Hardwicke were, at the same time, made president of the council: a hint of this was conveyed to lord Bute; who, though he appeared pleased at the proposal, declined to notice it; so that about the end of August his grace began to form a political connection with the duke of Cumberland; a measure of all others least expected; for they had always been opposed to each other, with a certain degree of contempt on one side, and of fear on the other.

At the conclusion of the last campaign, we left the Prussian monarch apparently struggling with an inexorable destiny: his circumstances were in so low a condition as to excite commiseration in his Britannic majesty, and incline him to recommend to parliament a renewal of the subsidy, with a prosecution of the German war: but when a contest with Spain was decreed, and a defence of Portugal anticipated, Frederic

[6] Political Life of Lord Barrington, p. 75.

received a suitable admonition to open negotiations for peace at Vienna: he was even requested to declare confidentially to the British ministry the terms on which he would be willing to treat; and was promised all the assistance which they could give, in seconding him: moreover, he was urged to explain the ground of his hopes, if he entertained any at all, of successfully resisting the powers by which he was opposed. Frederic treated these applications with contemptuous neglect; but the king of England, though he complained of such silence, still retained a disposition to renew the subsidy; until an event occurred, which, by rescuing the Prussian monarchy from its principal danger, placed its sovereign in a very different position with regard to his British allies: this was the sudden death of his inveterate foe, the empress of Russia, who was succeeded by her nephew, Peter III. With Elizabeth expired that national antipathy which she had encouraged against the king of Prussia: the new sovereign in his early youth had visited the court of Berlin; and, struck with the discipline of the Prussian army, had conceived an enthusiastic admiration of Frederic, which was raised almost to adoration by the splendid success, the unshaken fortitude, and the heroism of that extraordinary man.[7]

Peter, therefore, on his accession to the Russian throne, avowed his attachment without reserve; inveighed against the ingratitude shown by Maria Theresa toward England; and stigmatised the memory of his predecessor for having lavished so much blood and treasure to exalt a rival and depress a friend: nor did he stop here; but immediately concluded a peace, nay even an alliance, with Prussia; restoring every conquest made by the Russian armies, and transferring those very armies to the service of Frederic, in order to act against allies with whom they had so lately been associated. At this time, Sweden also, which power had been chiefly influenced by Russia in her hostility, made peace with Frederic, and thus left him free to contend with Austria single-handed; since prince Ferdinand was quite a match for the French generals on the side of Westphalia.

At an early stage of these transactions the Prussian monarch was prepared to expect difficulties on the side of England: but her refusal of pecuniary succor was not resolved on before an armistice had been concluded between him and the Russian emperor, and it became probable that Sweden would accede to

7 Coxe's House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 472.

a similar measure: there were, however, some additional causes of dissatisfaction on both sides: by the British ministers it was asserted, that from the moment of Peter's accession, the conduct of Frederic toward this country began to manifest symptoms of an unfriendly reserve; while he clandestinely entered into negotiations with the czar, the object of which was detrimental to the interests of Great Britain, and prejudicial to her engagement with Denmark.[8] The Prussian king, on the other hand, accused the British cabinet of making secret overtures to the czar, and to the empress-queen, respecting a separate peace; and of proposing even to compel Frederic's accession to their terms: he complained to the king himself on this subject; and lord Bute, by his majesty's command, explicitly disavowed the fact.

There is no reason to believe that the king of England or his ministers was guilty of such treachery toward an ally: neither, with regard to the principal point in question, the refusal of the subsidy, does it appear that Great Britain was bound under all circumstances to continue it. At an early period of the war Frederic himself had stated to our envoy Mr. Mitchell, who officially communicated the intelligence to lord Holderness, that if England would but engage to secure him from the attack of Russia, he should have so little need of assistance, that he might even spare troops for the defence of Hanover. At this time then, not only had a new and powerful enemy started up against England, but Frederic had converted his mightiest foe into his warmest friend; and while the defence of Portugal was added to the burdens of Great Britain, the force of Sweden was withdrawn from the confederacy against Prussia. Besides, although it was the interest of England not to allow Frederic to be overwhelmed, she had none in promoting his ambition: the war in Germany was henceforth to be carried on, not for the purpose of supporting him, but of opposing France. As a question therefore of policy, the withholding of the subsidy at this stage of the business could scarcely have been censured, unless at the same time England had made a separate peace, or had withdrawn her troops from the defence of Prussia, on the side of Westphalia: protected there, Frederic was quite equal to combat Austria, deserted by her allies, whom he had long defied when she was

[8] The intention of this treaty is said to have been, that Peter should guarantee to the king of Prussia the duchy of Silesia; in return for which Frederic was to assure to him the possession of Sleswick.—Adolphus's History of George III., vol. i. p. 18.

so powerfully assisted. Of all men living, too, he had least reason to complain of this slight infraction of a treaty, even if it could be so called; for the dissolution of alliances by him, in the late war of the Austrian succession, was a matter of astonishment and disgust to all Europe: still his complaints were loud, as his resentment was lasting; and the constant aim of this selfish, hard-hearted monarch, in which to a certain extent he succeeded, was the injury of a nation, to which, above all others, he was indebted for the preservation of his throne.

Profiting by the favorable circumstances above related, the king of Prussia began his operation in Silesia, and directed his attention particularly to the recovery of Schweidnitz; being aided in these designs by his gallant brother prince Henry, who had gained an important battle near Freyburg, and completely changed the face of affairs in Saxony. But while Frederic was carrying on, with his accustomed spirit, that bold series of manœuvres which unexpected events enabled him to pursue, he was threatened with a sudden reverse of fortune.

Peter III. by an extreme fondness for innovation, which extended itself to objects unimportant in themselves, though deeply rooted in the minds of a superstitious and bigoted people, had so alienated from himself the affections of his subjects, that an extensive conspiracy to dethrone him was formed and consolidated, before he knew that the first step had been taken: Catharine, his wife, a woman of powerful understanding and boundless ambition, irritated by the ill treatment she had experienced from her husband, and discovering the existence of such a plot, immediately headed it, and with great skill and courage directed it to her own purposes: having gained over the imperial guards, she quickly procured the deposition of Peter, and the acknowlegement of herself as an independent sovereign: this act having been seconded by the nobility and clergy, she marched at the head of her troops, apprehended her husband at one of his country-houses, intimidated him so far as to make him sign an act of abdication, declaring his incapacity for government, and then threw him into prison. It has often been observed that there is but a short passage from a throne to the grave: Peter III. died after a few days' confinement, of what was called a hæmorrhoidal colic.

Catharine, when she ascended the throne of the czars, withdrew her troops from Silesia into Poland, fearing lest they might be persuaded to declare against her usurpation: but

Frederic prudently determined to offer no opposition to her projects. It was thought that she would have renewed hostilities against him; for her subjects were highly indignant, under a supposition that the late emperor had, by his suggestions, instituted and pursued a system of innovation; nor was Catharine herself without suspicion, that some portion of the ill treatment she had received might be referred to the same source: in the first manifesto therefore of the new empress, he was designated as 'the most dangerous enemy of Russia:' scarcely however had this harsh sentence been promulgated, when she had an opportunity of perusing Frederic's correspondence with her late husband, found among his papers: she then discovered not only that he had given his imperial friend the wisest and best advice on all public matters, cautioning him against rash innovations, and blaming him for wantonly insulting the prejudices of his subjects; but that he had also counselled him to behave well to herself; conjuring him, if he could not treat her with tenderness, at least to show her that respect which was due to her station and merit. Catharine, it is said, was moved even to tears at the discovery: she made known the contents of these letters to the principal persons of her court, who readily acknowleged the injustice of their suspicions; and she determined on adhering to the existing treaty: nevertheless, her troops were withdrawn from the Prussian army, and she resolved to abstain from actual warfare; not wishing to offend Austria at so early a period of her reign.

Although this change of an offensive alliance to one of mere neutrality, made a considerable difference in the king's prospects, yet his present escape from the hostility of such an antagonist was even more wonderful than his former deliverance: the subtraction of so great a force from his adversaries was rightly considered by Frederic as an accession of power to himself; and as all his strong places, which had cost the Russians so much blood, were faithfully restored to him, he proceeded in his campaign with spirit and vigor. Having prevailed on the Russian general Czernichoff to conceal his despatches, and delay his departure for three days, he instantly attacked Daun on the heights of Burkersdorf, stormed the Austrian positions, and drove their forces to the Bohemian frontier. On the fourth of August he commenced the siege of Schweidnitz, which he re-took on the ninth of October, after a vain attempt made by Daun to relieve it, and eventually recovered the whole of Silesia. He then turned his attention toward Saxony, reinforced his brother's army in that electorate,

and projected the occupation of Dresden. These demonstrations, added to another great victory gained by prince Henry near the scene of his former success at Freyburg, so dispirited Austria, that she agreed to a cessation of hostilities for Saxony and Silesia. In consequence of this impolitic step, one part of the Prussian army, breaking into Bohemia, advanced to the very gates of Prague; while another fell on the same country from a different quarter, and laid great part of the town of Egra in ashes: some parties penetrated into the heart of Franconia, and even as far as Suabia, ravaging the country, or exacting heavy contributions; insomuch that many princes and states were reduced to the necessity of signing treaties of neutrality, to save their realms from total ruin; nor did they see any prospect of being able to furnish their contingents for another campaign under the imperial standard.

The allied British and German forces contended with the French on the same ground which they had occupied during the two preceding campaigns. The army under prince Ferdinand, amounting to 100,000 men in the highest state of discipline, first took the field, though the enemy had been augmented so as to retain his usual superiority of numbers: but marshal Broglio had been recalled, and the army of the Weser given to his rival, the prince of Soubise; marshal d'Etrées being appointed second in command: that of the Lower Rhine was committed to the prince of Condé. To check this latter, the hereditary prince was stationed with a strong detachment at Munster; while Ferdinand in person, with the main body, lay behind the Dymel to watch the former, and, if possible, deprive them of their Hessian conquests. The French had chosen their position very judiciously: their centre occupied an advantageous eminence; the left wing being almost inaccessible by reason of deep ravines; and the right covered by the village of Grabenstein, some rivulets, and a large detachment under M. Castries, one of their best officers: in such a position they never imagined that an attack could be made on them; but prince Ferdinand was determined to take advantage of this security; and having made all necessary preparations with judgment, celerity, and good order, he suddenly assaulted them in front, flank, and rear. The right wing under M. Castries retreated without much loss; but the rest of the army, after suffering considerably, would have been totally routed, had not M. Stainville, who commanded on the left, gallantly thrown himself, with the flower of the French infantry, into a wood, where he arrested the career of the vic-

tors. All, except two battalions, of this devoted band, were slain or taken prisoners; but the other bodies, covered by its bold manœuvre, made a precipitate retreat across the Fulda, and took shelter under the cannon of Cassel. The English, under the marquis of Granby, particularly distinguished themselves against the left wing of the French: lieutenant-colonel Townshend fell during the action, in an honorable death, to the great regret of the whole army.

This battle, from which the French never recovered during the campaign, was but the prelude to a series of bold and masterly enterprises, which so harassed the prince of Soubise, that he was obliged to call the army of the Lower Rhine to his assistance: resolved however not to hazard a general engagement before its arrival, he quitted his strong post on the heights of Mulsingen, fell back behind the Fulda, and left Cassel uncovered, though not defenceless; having thrown into it a garrison of 10,000 men. Ferdinand, however, without loss of time began the siege, from which he was not deterred, even by a defeat which the hereditary prince sustained at Johannisburg; where he was wounded, and lost 3000 men. After various ineffectual endeavors made by the French armies to relieve Cassel, they abandoned it to its fate; and the surrender of this strong place closed a campaign which had been both glorious and important to the allies.

But these events in Germany were not more interesting to Great Britain than others which occurred on a smaller and less splendid field. France and Spain having determined to follow up their menaces by an invasion of the Portuguese king's dominions, his ambassador explained to our ministry the alarming situation of that monarch, and presented a formal request of succor, according to existing treaties: he also expressed a wish that some experienced British officers should be sent over, to train and command the Portuguese troops, long disused to warlike service. The magnanimity displayed by the king of Portugal called forth corresponding sentiments in the sovereign, the ministry, and the people of Great Britain: and it was determined to support the weakness of their ally with all the resources of this mighty nation. As a preliminary step, lord Tyrawley, a nobleman of high military talents, who also acted as ambassador, was sent to inspect the Portuguese forces, to give his advice respecting the best disposal of them, and to command the British auxiliaries, consisting of 8000 troops drawn from Belleisle and Ireland. Notwithstanding the great accomplishments of this nobleman as a statesman and general,

his haughty and quick temper totally disqualified him for the service on which he was employed: having taken offence at the Portuguese ministers for their inactivity in the execution of his designs, he sent violent complaints to England; declaring that the war between Spain and Portugal was a mere collusion to dupe the British government; in consequence of which he was recalled, and the command of the forces committed to the count de la Lippe Buckeburg, an active and intelligent officer, who had commanded the artillery under prince Ferdinand.

The French, who despaired of attaining their avowed object, in the exclusion of the English from the Portuguese harbors, by naval operations, attempted it by military force, and directed their principal efforts against Oporto and Lisbon: for this purpose they made three inroads, one north, another south, and a third, for the sake of communication between the two former, into the middle provinces. The marquis de Sarria headed the first army; and penetrating the north-east angle of Portugal, laid siege to Miranda: the fortifications of which town being ruined by the accidental explosion of a powder magazine, it became an easy conquest: still less opposition was met with at Braganza, where the keys of the city were presented to the Spanish commander as soon as he appeared: Moncorvo surrendered in the same manner: count O'Reilly marched into Chaves; and by these successes the marquis gained possession of almost all the province of Tra los Montes: Oporto was considered as almost lost; and transports were prepared to carry off the effects of the British factory: in attempting, however, to cross the Douro, the Spaniards were repulsed; and the inhabitants, assisted by some English officers with a reinforcement of regular troops, drove them back to Torre de Moncorvo. The corps which took the central route, having entered the province of Beira, was joined by a force almost equal to the whole army in Tra los Montes; and immediately besieged Almeida, the strongest place on the Portuguese frontiers, of great importance from its central situation, and from the facility which its possession would give to the grand project against Lisbon: the trenches were opened on the twenty-fifth of July; next day the besiegers were reinforced by 8000 French auxiliaries: and the garrison capitulated on the twenty-fifth of August. The invading forces, after this conquest, spread themselves over the whole territory of Castel Branco, a principal district of Beira, and proceeded southwards till they approached the Tagus. These alarming successes however were not of long duration; the disputes of

lord Tyrawley with the Portuguese ministers had prevented the allies from acting in perfect concert; but after his recall, and the appointment of the count de la Lippe, affairs took a more favorable turn. This excellent officer was accompanied by one of the princes of Mecklenburg Strelitz, brother to the queen of England: the generals next in command were the earl of Loudon, a man of much experience; and lieutenant-general Townshend, who had served with high reputation in America; the subordinates being lord George Lennox, and the brigadier-generals Crawford and Burgoyne, officers of well-known merit. The Spanish corps destined to invade the south of Portugal assembled on the frontiers of Estremadura; when the count de la Lippe, aware of the necessity of preventing, if possible, their entrance into Portugal, resolved to attack an advanced party of them in Valencia d'Alcantara, a frontier town; and the conduct of this enterprise was committed to brigadier-general Burgoyne, who effected a complete surprise of the enemy on the twenty-seventh of August, and took prisoner the Spanish general as he was preparing to march into Alentejo.

This seemed to have been for some time the destination, not only of the troops under the captured general, but also of those which had hitherto occupied Beira, a rough mountainous country, where cavalry could be of little service: to prevent the advance therefore of the Bourbon army from any side into Alentejo, was an object of high importance. General Burgoyne, by his incursion into the Spanish territories, had already prevented it in one quarter; and the vigilant activity of the same excellent officer had no small share in preventing it in the other.

That part of the enemy's army which acted in the district of Castel Branco had secured several important passes, from which they drove some Portuguese forces; and though, in attacking the rear of the combined army, they suffered a repulse, they yet continued masters of the country; and nothing remained, but the passage of the Tagus, to prevent them from taking up their quarters in Alentejo. General Burgoyne, who was posted with a view to obstruct them, and who lay within sight of a detached camp of their cavalry, near a village called Villa Velha, observing that the enemy kept no strict guard in this position, and also that they were uncovered on the rear and flanks, conceived a plan of attacking them by surprise: he confided the execution of this enterprise to colonel Lee, who turned their camp, fell on their rear by night, dispersed the

whole party with great slaughter, and destroyed their magazines; while Burgoyne supported him by a feigned attack in another quarter, which prevented the adjacent posts from sending any relief.

The season being now far advanced, the enemy, destitute of strong places, as well as of magazines for the subsistence of cavalry, retreated to the frontiers, where they might procure supplies, and avoid the harassing efforts of the combined army. Thus was Portugal saved by the valor of British soldiers and their commanders, under the skilful conduct of the count de la Lippe;[9] and thus did the insolent menaces of the Bourbon confederacy end in disappointment and confusion.

In her expeditions by sea the success of England was even more conspicuous than by land; and the conquests effected by the joint energies of her naval and military heroes testified the great powers of that minister, whose spirit, though he was no longer at the helm, seemed still to direct and animate her counsels. He laid the plans; he collected the forces; his energetic mind imparted to them that heroic impulse, which rendered their attempts so eminently successful.

The French West Indian islands were the first object of attack; and the squadron destined for this service, consisting of eighteen ships of the line under admiral Rodney, with 10,000 land forces under general Monckton, sailed from Barbados on the fifth of January, against Martinique. A landing having been effected without any loss, except that of the 'Raisonnable' man of war through the ignorance of her pilot, the army advanced against Fort Royal, a strong town with a citadel, and extensive batteries erected on two commanding heights, named Morne Garnier and Morne Tortenson: the latter of these was attacked and carried with irresistible impetuosity: but as the former was equally strong, and commanded the other, three days were considered necessary to make preparations for its assault. During this time, the enemy in full force descended from the heights, and assailed the advanced posts of the British;

[9] It was not empty praise alone which repaid the success of this able commander. The following were among the presents made to him by his Portuguese majesty. Six pieces of small artillery, of massive gold, very curiously wrought, with his excellency's arms on each: the carriages were made of Brazil wood, plated with silver, and the wheels of silver gilt: a diamond star for his order of the black eagle: a curious chest, which, on opening, was found to contain cash to the amount of £80,000: his majesty's picture set in diamonds, and a complete set of diamond buckles.—See Gentleman's Magazine, A.D. 1764, p. 496.

but their main body, rushing forward, repulsed the assailants, pursued them past some ravines, ascended the hill, and obtained possession of the works: on the fourth of February the town and citadel capitulated; when the governor-general, M. de la Touche, retired to St. Pierre, the capital of the island, seemingly prepared for a stout resistance: but on the tenth, when general Monckton was about to embark his troops to attack that city, the French, intimidated by preceding events, sent deputies with proposals for a capitulation, which were freely accepted. The reduction of Martinique was followed by a surrender of its dependent islands, comprising Grenada, and the Grenadines, St. Lucie, St. Vincent, and Tobago: thus the possession of all the Caribbee isles was transferred to Great Britain.

To counterbalance these losses, the French gained a temporary possession of St. John's, the capital of Newfoundland; where they captured a sloop of war and some merchant vessels, destroyed the stages for curing fish, and did in other respects considerable damage. Orders were immediately sent out to reconquer the place; but sir Jeffery Amherst had anticipated them, by despatching thither lord Colville and colonel Amherst from Halifax, who soon expelled the invaders.

When the co-operation of Spain in this war was sought by France, a powerful inducement was held out to her in the prospect of a successful attack on Portugal: but while England felt that she had the means of preventing success in that quarter, she had also the consolation to know that the rich colonial possessions of Spain lay within her grasp; and that by the superiority of her navy she could cripple the resources of her new antagonist, and disappoint the hopes of her ancient enemy.

The British administration therefore prepared to strike a severe blow against the commerce of Spain; and as the navigation and trade of her West Indian islands centred in the Havannah, where her galleons and flota were accustomed to assemble before they sailed for Europe, it was determined to attack this stronghold of her transatlantic dominions: a powerful armament was accordingly prepared early in the year; and the expedition sailed from Portsmouth on the fifth of March, under the command of general lord Albemarle and admiral Pocock. Being joined off Hispaniola by a part of the squadron which returned from the conquest of Martinique, the whole fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line with numerous transports, avoiding a long and circuitous passage, boldly run through the perilous straits of Bahama, and without

any accident or interruption, arrived before Havannah[10] on the fifth of June. A landing was effected on the seventh.

They found the narrow entrance of the spacious harbor defended on the eastern side by a fort, on a projecting point of land, called the Moro, considered impregnable; and by one called Puntal on the west, connected with the town; which itself was surrounded by a small rampart and a deep ditch. In addition to this, a Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty sail, mostly of the line, was in the harbor, and assisted in making able dispositions for the defence of the city; the harbor itself being protected by a strong boom, behind which several ships were sunk. The army, when disembarked, was divided into two corps; the largest being appointed to act against fort Moro, while the other advanced southward, to cover the besiegers, and cut off all intercourse between the city and the country. A detachment, under colonel Howe, was posted to the westward, in order to create a diversion, and intercept all communication with the country on that side.

Notwithstanding this excellent disposition of the British forces, the difficulties attending the siege appeared insurmountable. The earth was so thin, that to cover their approaches, the besiegers used bags of cotton, being part of the cargo of some Jamaica ships in the squadron of sir James Douglas: the supply of water was so scanty and precarious, that they were obliged to depend on the shipping for that necessary article: the labor also of forming roads for the artillery was so great, as to cause the death of many from fatigue: but such was the spirit and unanimity of this brave army, that in face of all difficulties and dangers, batteries were raised to assail the fort and shipping: the Spaniards, 15,000 strong, were repulsed in a desperate sally; and three British men of war brought their guns to bear on the Moro; but, as it was impossible to assault that fort from the sea without exposure to the fire of Puntal, these were soon forced to retire. While the contest was carried on with great spirit and perseverance, the principal British battery, which was composed of wood, took fire, and was unfortunately consumed: sickness rendered one-half of the land forces, and 3000 seamen, unfit for duty, and thus doubled the fatigue of the others; besides which, the want of good water and fresh provisions increased their disorders, and aggravated their suf-

[10] Though not the capital, yet this is the most important town of Cuba, the largest island in the West Indies, running from east to west about 900 miles in length; irregular in breadth, but at an average of about 100 miles.

ferings: still not a murmur was heard, nor any relaxation of exertion perceived. At length a lodgment in the covered way was effected, after the cannon of the fort had been silenced, and its upper works destroyed. At this time also a supply of provisions from Jamaica, and a strong reinforcement of men from New York, raised their spirits to a high pitch; when new difficulties appeared, from an immense ditch cut chiefly in the solid rock: a thin ridge, however, had been left to flank it toward the sea; which, though intirely uncovered, the miners passed with safety: thenceforth they were able to carry on their operations against the walls: their mines were sprung, a great part of the ruins fell into the ditch, and a breach was reported practicable: orders were accordingly given to storm the fort, and this dangerous enterprise was hailed by the British troops as a joyful termination to their labors. They immediately mounted the ramparts and rushed into the breach, where the enemy made a brave but ineffectual stand; and the marquis de Gonzales, who was second in command, fell as he was endeavoring to rally his troops: Don Lewis de Velasco, the valiant governor, collecting a small body of men round the standard, determined to defend it to the last: but he saw his little band slaughtered or dispersed, and was killed by a random shot, while in the act of presenting his sword to the conquerors: fort Moro then remained in possession of the British, who lost no time in improving this important advantage. A second reinforcement being now arrived, the fire of the conquered fortress was turned against the enemy; a line of batteries was erected on the heights where it stood; and another on the western side of the city. Lord Albemarle, when everything was prepared, summoned the governor to surrender; but having received a firm refusal, he opened a tremendous fire from all the batteries, which, after six hours, compelled the foe to hang out a flag of truce: this led to a capitulation; and the British troops took possession of Havannah on the fourteenth of August, after a siege of two months and nine days. This conquest was the most important exploit of the war: a richer one has rarely been made. Nine sail of the line and four frigates were taken in the harbor; two were destroyed on the stocks, and three had previously been sunk by the enemy; while the treasure in ready money, and valuable merchandise belonging to the Spanish king, amounted to near £3,000,000 sterling. The very inequitable and unjust distribution of this prize-money gave rise to much discontent in England; for, while the admiral and general received each the

large sum of £122,697, about £4 was allotted to every common soldier, and to a sailor somewhat less.

Nor was it in the western hemisphere only that fortune was adverse to his most catholic majesty. As soon as intelligence of the war reached the East Indies, an armament was fitted out at Madras under the command of admiral Cornish and sir William Draper, for an expedition against Luconia, the principal of the Philippine islands. The force, consisting of 2300 troops, Europeans and Indians, being despatched on board a squadron of nine ships of the line and frigates, disembarked on the twenty-fourth of September, and marched against Manilla, the capital of the island; for the defence of which 10,000 of the natives had been added to a garrison of 800 men. During the progress of this siege some daring attempts were made to impede the advance of the works, but the assailants were repelled with great slaughter: a strong body of Indians, in the service of the colonists, made a desperate sally, and fought with almost incredible ferocity; they ran furiously on the ranks of the besiegers, and many of them died, like wild beasts, gnawing with their teeth the bayonets by which they were transfixed. At length a breach was effected in the works, but no proposal of capitulation, no offer of surrender, was heard: the garrison awaited the result in sullen despair; the place was taken by storm, and for some time exposed to the ravages of a merciless soldiery, after the governor, archbishop, and magistrates had retired into the citadel. This, however, being in no condition of defence, a capitulation ensued, by which the city and port of Manilla, with several ships, and the military stores, were surrendered to the king: but a ransom of 4,000,000 dollars for all private property was offered and accepted. This important conquest was achieved with little loss to the British; but the fruits of it did not terminate here: in consequence of information acquired from some letters which fell into the hands of the captors, two ships were despatched from the British squadron to intercept the rich galleon Philippina: and though they missed this their expected prize, they took the Santissima Trinidada, an Acapulco ship, with a cargo valued at 3,000,000 dollars. While the resources of Spain were thus effectually destroyed in either India, her immediate supplies were intercepted in Europe, by the capture of the Hermione, bound from Peru to Cadiz, which surrendered to two English frigates near Cape St. Vincent: the treasure in specie and valuable effects, contained in this vessel, amounted to more than £1,000,000 sterling.

The only attempt against the Spanish possessions which did not succeed, was a joint expedition sent out by Great Britain and Portugal to the settlement of Buenos Ayres; and its failure was owing to an unfortunate accident which could not have been prevented by human foresight. The troops destined for this service were embarked, in the Tagus, on board three frigates and some smaller armed vessels, under the command of captain Macnamara; and on the second of November they arrived at the mouth of the river Plata: but no sooner had they entered that mighty stream, than they encountered a dreadful storm with terrific thunder and lightning; and were also greatly embarrassed by the shoals and dangerous navigation of the channel. The Spaniards also were well prepared to receive them, and had so far anticipated the attack, as to have taken possession of a strong Portuguese fortress, called Nova Colonia, the recovery of which it was first determined to attempt. An English pilot undertook to carry the ships within pistol-shot of the principal battery; and after a vigorous cannonade of four hours, the guns of this fort were nearly silenced, when the Commodore was perceived to be in flames; and while these were raging, the distress of the crew was augmented by a renewal of the enemy's fire. The scene of horror was indescribable; in the terror and confusion that ensued, the unfortunate commander was drowned: and of 340 souls only seventy escaped the flames and waves. The other vessels were obliged to retire, after suffering much damage: but the Spaniards, with that humanity which then characterized the nation, succored and relieved the unfortunate men who were driven ashore, forgetting their hostile intentions in the calamity by which they had been frustrated.

Thus did the operations of war contribute to augment the glory of England, while they humbled the pride and confounded the designs of the Bourbon confederacy. France, disconcerted in her views of dictating the law to her ancient antagonist, now entertained in good earnest those pacific inclinations which some time before she had merely professed. Spain also, having suffered grievous losses during the short period of hostilities, became anxious to avoid those greater calamities, which she saw impending over her colonies, and which must eventually ruin the mother country. As every day brought to both these powers intelligence of fresh disasters, they did not wait the issue of all the enterprises above described: but early in September sent to open negotiations for peace. Happily for themselves, they found the cabinet of Great Britain disposed

to meet their overtures, and to treat with them on terms of justice and liberality.

These views of the minister were so far seconded by the nation, that most parties, though elevated by success, were not so intoxicated by it as to prefer an expensive and hazardous continuance of hostilities to an honorable and satisfactory termination of them: one body of men, however, were particularly disinclined to pacific sentiments, because they largely profited by the maritime war which had been so successfully prosecuted. During the negotiations of last year, the city of London instructed its representatives to oppose any peace which did not reserve to England all, or the greater part, of her conquests: and if such were its opinions and pretensions then, it was not probable that these would be lowered after the brilliant actions of the last campaign. In fact, they were now raised to an extravagant height; and while the whole glory of the war was assigned to Mr. Pitt, the very proposal of peace was considered as a dereliction of his principles, and a sacrifice of national honor.

The ex-minister himself, aware of the existence of such feelings, determined to take advantage of them: he saw, that by increasing his interest in the city, where he was already a great favorite, he should be able to organise a powerful party, in opposition to the government: as a preliminary step, therefore, he concerted measures for securing the election of alderman Beckford to the office of lord mayor; a man devoted to his interests, possessing great influence over the corporation, of a proud and rather turbulent disposition; but respected for his independent character, and the incorruptibility, which that, and the possession of enormous wealth, bestowed. By such aid then, joined to that of the monied men and capitalists, whose unlimited confidence Mr. Pitt enjoyed, he raised a formidable force, which he could wield on all occasions, and at all times, according to his own pleasure and discretion.

In addition to this, a powerful combination of rank, influence, and ability, existed in full opposition to the minister among the whigs, irritated by the removal of so many of their adherents from office, and countenanced by the duke of Cumberland, who had imbibed all the principles and prejudices of the party. Besides, the premier himself was extremely unpopular with the English people: he neither commanded their admiration by superior genius like Mr. Pitt; nor did he engage their affections by that affable demeanor which the duke of Newcastle was accustomed to assume; but his manners

were cold and formal, and his disposition was imperious; while his supposed predilection for arbitrary power, and his known attachment to his own countrymen, who were presumed to be abettors of it, exposed him to the most virulent abuse. His administration was attacked with a violence which scarcely any age has witnessed; and the town was inundated with scurrilous pamphlets and disgusting caricatures,[11] in which bitterness of sarcasm contended with licentiousness of description.

Under these circumstances, lord Bute must have seen that it was a matter of little concern to himself personally, whether, he continued the war or effected a peace. He could not expect to remain long in power: indeed, there is some reason to suppose that he did not even wish it.[12] He had already perceived a great falling off in supplies both of money and of men; he also foresaw a vast increase of the public debt, much financial distress, and violent obstructions from the cabals of party. If he should fail in his plans, the failure would be ascribed to his incapacity; if he should be successful, his success would be converted into a reason for demanding such exorbitant terms of peace as could not be procured. At all events, the difficulty would be immense in conducting operations so as to satisfy a public which was accustomed to such brilliant triumphs, and which already grasped in imagination the mines of Mexico and Peru. He determined therefore to follow his own line of policy, laid down long before, and seconded by the inclinations of his royal master: this led him to embrace the present opportunity of making peace, though he knew that, on whatever terms it might be concluded, his political antagonists would represent it as inadequate to the successes of the war, if not inconsistent with the interests and glory of Great Britain.

Till the meeting of parliament no effectual opposition to him could be made: accordingly, the duc de Nivernois was received in London as ambassador from the court of Versailles, with full diplomatic powers; and the duke of Bedford, a nobleman who had filled many high offices in the state, was sent to Paris, in a similar capacity. Actuated by mutual desires to effect a

[11] In these latter generally are observed the mystical emblems of a boot and a petticoat, indicating his supposed intimate connexion at Leicester-house.—*Interdum vulgus rectè videt.*

[12] 'Conscious of my own feelings,' says he in a letter to lord Melcombe, 'conscious of deserving better treatment, I shall go on, though single and alone, to serve my king and country, in the best manner my poor talents will allow me; happy, too happy, when the heavy burden that I bear shall be removed, and placed on other shoulders.'

reconciliation between their respective countries, and prudently abstaining from all discussion of German affairs, with which they were not immediately concerned, the negotiators avoided much of that jealousy which formerly prevailed, and thereby facilitated the progress of the present treaty; so that preliminaries were signed and exchanged at Fontainbleau, on the third of November, between the ministers of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal.

Among the domestic occurrences which distinguished this eventful year, the nation was most gratified by one which promised fair to keep in his majesty's family the protestant succession, the best foundation of its civil and religious rights. On the twelfth of August, the anniversary of his family's accession to the throne, an heir apparent was born; and while the guns were still firing on this joyful occasion, the Spanish treasure which had been captured in the Hermoine[13] moved in a stately procession of artillery waggons, decorated with flags and escorted by cavalry, before St. James's palace; where the sovereign, surrounded by his nobility, stood at a window, and joined heartily in the acclamations of the people. With what an accumulation of interest did that unconscious infant repay, during his regency, the treasures thus paraded, as it were, before his cradle!

In this year, the king, who was always anxious for the advance of morals, literature, and the fine arts, granted a pension of £300 to Dr. Johnson, avowedly on the score of his able exertions in the cause of religion and morality; one of £200 being conferred on Sheridan, father of the celebrated orator, for the purpose of enabling him to continue his labors in the improvement of the English language: at the same time his majesty gave great encouragement to the society for the preservation and performance of ancient music; and declared also his intention of chartering a royal academy of painting; an institution, which had long been contemplated, though checked in its progress by the jealousy of rival artists. He also formed a magnificent collection of drawings and prints, by means of extensive purchases in Italy. The museum of Mr. Smith, at Venice, consisting of his library, prints, drawings, designs and antiquities, was bought for this purpose; and the capital collection of cardinal Albani, at Rome, was procured at the

[13] The net proceeds of this ship, captured by the Active frigate, and Favorite sloop of war, was £519,705; of which the flag admiral, and each of the captains, received £64,963: every lieutenant had £13,000; every seaman and marine £485.

expense of 14,000 crowns. In the month of October, numerous addresses, from different bodies corporate, from the clergy of the established church, and from the protestant dissenters, were presented to the king, on the occasion of the birth of his heir apparent. These were generally distinguished by loyal and patriotic sentiments, hailing the young prince as one born for the preservation of our civil and ecclesiastical constitution; and they were answered by his majesty with a spirit corresponding to such feelings. In his reply to that presented from the province of Canterbury, the king declared, 'that he accepted with thanks their good wishes and regard expressed for the queen; and saw with particular pleasure the gratitude to Heaven for the birth of a protestant heir; that their opinion of his fixed intention to educate that prince in every principle of civil and religious liberty was truly acceptable to him:' and he desired them 'to be confident that no endeavor on his part should be wanting to promote the sacred interests of christian piety and moral virtue, and transmit to posterity our most happy constitution.'

CHAPTER IV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1762.

Facilities of carrying on negotiations—Terms of the preliminary treaty of peace—Objections urged against them, and the answers to these objections—Feelings of the French people respecting the treaty—Meeting of the English parliament, and the king's speech—Debates on the address to his majesty, which is carried by a great majority in both houses—Effect of the reconciliation between England and France on the German powers—Miserable state to which they are reduced by the war—Negotiations between Austria and Prussia—Peace of Hubertsburg concluded—Relations of the states remain the same as before the war—Balance of power—Relations between England and Prussia—Growing power and influence of the former of these states—Her maritime code—General state of Europe—Political speculations, and increased intellectual activity—Attention paid by the different governments to their internal affairs—State of Prussia and Austria—Of France—Of Portugal—Of Spain—Of Russia—Of England—Her domestic policy, and alteration of system—Difficulties and extensive changes which ensued.

EVERY diplomatist concerned in the treaty of Fontainbleau appeared to be actuated with a sincere desire of peace; which object was no longer impeded by the interested designs of the king of Prussia, because the British ministry had declined to renew that article in the annual treaty which prohibited them from concluding a peace without his concurrence; while the intervention of Spanish claims, which proved so great an obstacle to an adjustment last year, now produced a contrary effect, by facilitating an arrangement of equivalents and compensations: besides, as Great Britain had sent out formidable expeditions into various parts of the globe, and the possessions of France and Spain lay exposed, almost defenceless, to attack, a spur was thus added to the ministers of both those powers to bring negotiations to a speedy conclusion. Under such circumstances the following preliminaries were soon arranged:—

First, in regard to Europe—France consented to restore Minorca to England; to evacuate Hanover, as well as the territories of the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Brunswick, and the count de la Lippe Buckeburg; also Cleves, Wesel, Gueldres, and other places belonging to his Prussian majesty,

both nations agreeing to observe a strict neutrality with regard to the disputes of Germany. Full restitution was promised by France and Spain to Portugal; and the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be demolished according to the tenor of former treaties. Great Britain in return restored Belleisle to France.

In the East Indies, France recovered Pondicherry, and all she had possessed in the beginning of 1749, on condition of renouncing every conquest made since that period, of erecting no fortifications in any part of Bengal or Orissa, and of acknowledging the reigning subahdars of the Deccan, the Carnatic, and Bengal. The conquest of Manilla was not yet ascertained, but was understood to be relinquished, if made, on the part of England.

Africa gave little trouble to the negotiators: England ceding Goree to France, and retaining Senegal.

America, the primary cause of contention, afforded ampler grounds for cession and restitution. France not only renounced all pretensions to Nova Scotia, but ceded to Great Britain the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, with the intire province of Canada, including the islands in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence, as well as that part of Louisiana which is situated east of the Mississippi, reserving to all Roman catholic inhabitants the right of exercising their religion, and permission to quit the country, if they desired it, within a limited time. That tract also, between the Ohio and St. Lawrence, on which the French had erected their forts, which had been a proximate cause of the war, was given up, together with the forts themselves.

Spain, on her part, resigned East and West Florida,[14] with all pretensions to fish on the banks of Newfoundland: she also conceded to British subjects the full right of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras; stipulating only that they should destroy their present forts, and build no other on the coast.

In return for these advantages, England made large concessions in the West Indies, restoring the Havannah, with all other conquests in Cuba, to Spain; Martinique, Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Desirade, and St. Lucie, to France: but she retained St. Vincent, Dominique, Tobago, Grenada, and the Grenadines. To the first three of these, as well as to St. Lucie, she had an ancient claim.

The Newfoundland fishery was a subject of much contro-

[14] In return, France declared herself ready to cede Louisiana, by a separate treaty, to Spain. This however was not done till 1769.

versy between the French and British diplomatists. England desired to exclude her antagonist altogether from its advantages; but with this desire France could not comply: a compromise therefore was agreed to; and the French were permitted to fish on the north-east and north-west coasts, according to the treaty of Utrecht; within the gulf of St. Lawrence, at a distance of three leagues from the shore; and off Cape Breton, at a distance of fifteen. The small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were granted as a shelter for their fishermen, with liberty of stationing fifty soldiers there, to act as a police.

The difficult question regarding French prizes, captured before the declaration of war, was passed over in discreet silence, though it had previously been an object of vehement controversy. France could scarcely have made a greater sacrifice of her feelings to the honor of Great Britain than by such a mode of proceeding.

It was hardly to be expected that any articles by which peace could be restored to the nation with a prospect of its permanency, would be satisfactory to parties whose object was to harass the ministry, or to that portion of the public who thought only of exalting themselves and depressing their antagonists. Many were the objections made, both in and out of parliament, against the terms of adjustment. First, the cession of Belle-isle for Minorca was declared to be more than an equivalent: but a ready answer to this cavil existed in what had occurred during the former negotiation; when the same objection having been stated to the French minister, his reply was, 'Keep then Belleisle, and we will retain Minorca.'

It was also strongly asserted, that we had disgraced the national character, by deserting our old ally the king of Prussia. This charge, however, could not be substantiated: the events of the last campaign had placed him in a condition not merely secure, but extremely formidable to his imperial foe: Saxony was in his power; Russia and Sweden had withdrawn from the contest; and the efforts of France were paralysed; so that Austria was left, as a panting victim, at the feet of Frederic; and the balance of power was actually endangered by his preponderance in the system. Moreover, it was well known that the British treaty with Prussia was subject to an annual renewal; and in this very year, before any negotiations took place, the stipulation prohibiting a separate peace was expressly omitted.

The objections urged against the African arrangements are

not worthy of notice; those in the western hemisphere lay open apparently to a better-founded charge. The West Indian islands were the great source of foreign trade, of wealth, and of naval power to our enemies; and France, it was said, is chiefly, if not solely, to be dreaded by England as a commercial and maritime opponent. Here then we had made the most important conquests; but by our impolitic concessions we had enabled that country to regain her superiority in the West Indian trade, by which she would not only drive us out of the European markets, but repair all her losses, especially those of her marine. Of the many islands reduced by our arms we had selected but a few, and those of little value, to retain: St. Lucia alone was said to be of more importance to Great Britain than them all; the advantages of its favorable situation and excellent harbor being so well known to Mr. Pitt, that he refused to restore it in the negotiations of last year.

With regard to the cession of St. Lucia, an answer readily suggested itself: this was the only neutral island possessed by France; and good policy dictated, that the task of keeping the Caribbs in order should partly devolve on her. To Martinique indeed, or Guadaloupe, the same observation could not have applied; but the very attempt to retain either of these islands would have created an insuperable disgust in the French cabinet, and probably in all the civilised world: war would have appeared to assume the principles of piracy, or the rage of extermination; and no conquered nation for the future would expect any fair terms from a stronger adversary. The same remarks would apply to a prohibition of our neighbors from the fisheries of Newfoundland. Could the principle, if assumed, be maintained in the face of Europe, that we were to cut off all resources from the navy of France? If the proper end of peace be permanent tranquillity, social intercourse, and general security, would not these be more endangered by such severe terms, than by the equitable, though still advantageous conditions, which Great Britain had granted to her opponents?

Besides, as we had fought, not for ourselves only, but also for our allies, and as we intended to make large demands in America, it was the more necessary to relax in other quarters. In those days, Canada was the grand aim of British policy; and however its possession may have contributed to the loss of our North American provinces, by removing from their vicinity such warlike rivals as the French, and thereby setting them free from the necessity of British assistance; still at that period no notion was entertained of American independence by the

mother country: she thought only of foreign aggressions; and now felt satisfied that those vast colonies were secured to her by the frontiers of a coextensive empire, containing all the advantages which a fertile soil and the finest fresh-water navigation in the world could bestow.

Nor should the disadvantageous terms imposed on the French in the East Indies be left out of consideration; for though they had regained their factories, their fortifications were destroyed; and if they should attempt to restore them, such restoration could only take place in provinces which would not interfere with the ascendency of Great Britain: it was well known that the maintaining of Coromandel would cost more than it was worth; especially as any interference with Bengal and Orissa was prohibited, where the English had vast possessions, and where alone a great territorial dominion could be established. After all, however, the best argument to show that the terms of peace were favorable to Great Britain, was the manner in which they were received by the French. Never before perhaps had the high and sensitive feelings of that people been so wounded; never before did they experience such humiliation, which they owed not to their own want of courage, talent, or resources, but to the imbecility of their government, and the fundamental vices of its constitution. A large portion of that loyalty, or attachment to ancient forms of despotism, which still lingered in the nation, was lost together with its national honor, when this treaty, so disgraceful to the great monarchy, was made known. England was in fact exalted on the depression of France; and the bitter fruits of resentment, derived from this source, appeared in a succeeding age.

While preparations were making in Great Britain by political parties for a trial of strength, parliament met on the 25th of November. The session was opened by his majesty with a speech, in which, after alluding to the late sanguinary contest, and his resolution taken to prosecute it vigorously, for the purpose of obtaining an honorable peace, he dwelt at some length on the ineffectual attempts at first made to promote a reconciliation, and the subsequent extension of hostilities: taking this opportunity of eulogising the conduct of his commanders and their troops, while he enumerated the conquests made by their united wisdom and valor. His majesty then proceeded as follows:—'Preliminary articles have now been signed by my minister with those of France and Spain, which I will order in due time to be laid before you. Their condi-

tions are such, that there is not only an immense territory added to the empire of Great Britain, but a solid foundation laid for the increase of trade and commerce; while the utmost care has been taken to remove all occasions of future disputes between my subjects and those of France and Spain; thereby adding security and permanency to the blessings of peace.'

Having adverted to the good faith which we had religiously kept toward our allies, and to the necessity of economy after that exhaustion of pecuniary resources, which such a war must necessarily create, his majesty thus concluded:—

'My lords and gentlemen:—It was impossible to execute what this nation has so gloriously performed in all parts of the world without the loss of great numbers of men. When you consider this loss, either on the principles of policy or humanity, you will see one of the many reasons which induced me to enter early into negotiation, so as to make a considerable progress in it before the fate of many operations was determined; and now to hasten its conclusion in order to prevent the necessity of making preparations for another campaign. As by this peace my territories are greatly augmented, and new sources opened for trade and manufactures, it is my earnest desire, that you would consider of such methods in the settlement of our new acquisitions as shall most effectually tend to the security of those countries, and to the improvement of the commerce and navigation of Great Britain. I cannot mention our acquisitions, without earnestly recommending to your care and attention my gallant subjects, by whose valor they were made. We could never have carried on this extensive war without the greatest union at home. You will find the same union peculiarly necessary, in order to make the best use of the great advantages acquired by the peace, and to lay the foundation of that economy which we owe to ourselves and to our posterity; and which can alone relieve this nation from the heavy burdens brought on it by the necessities of so long and expensive a war.'

When the preliminaries of peace were discussed, the opposition became much less powerful than was expected. The motion for an address to his majesty, by the commons, approving the advantageous terms of this treaty, was moved by Mr. Fox, who took the lead in support of it; while Mr. Pitt, in a speech of more than three hours, advanced every objection that could be urged against the arrangements[15]. Though he was

[15] 'Mr. Pitt,' says lord Barrington, 'came to the house on crutches, out of his bed, to which he had been confined for some

suffering such excruciating torture from a fit of the gout, that he was at first obliged to be supported by two persons, he declared, that even at the hazard of his life, he would that day raise his voice, his hand and arm, against a transaction which he stigmatised as derogatory to the honor of his country: its terms, he said, were totally inadequate to our successes, surrendering all those advantages to which our glorious achievements had intitled us, and sacrificing the public faith in a disgraceful desertion of our allies. These general observations he illustrated by minute details, and an analysis of the whole treaty; challenging the minister to compare the present conditions of it with what he could have obtained from M. Bussy. He saw in these nothing but the seeds of future war; for the peace was insecure, because it reinstated our enemies in their former greatness; it was inadequate, because the places we retained were not equivalent to those we had surrendered.

Mr. Pitt's arguments were combated by the considerations of general policy already alluded to, and by a different estimate of the conquests ceded and retained; the impossibility also of obtaining peace at all on better terms was strongly urged. France and Spain would have run any risk in continuing the war, rather than have consented to the total ruin of their commercial interests; and then Great Britain would have suffered more in her increased expenditure and the augmentation of her debt than she could have gained by the most favorable concessions. These arguments had their weight with many; so that, after an ample debate, the question was carried for the address by a majority of 319 to 65.

In the house of lords also objections were urged to the treaty, and severe reflections thrown out against the earl of Bute, who defended his own conduct with temper, but at the same time with a spirit and tone quite unexpected by those who had listened to his generally cold and formal harangues. Having given a complete account of the late negotiations, and vindicated the terms of the treaty, as wise and just, ascertaining the points in dispute so clearly that they left no ground for litigation, and manifesting such moderation that no feelings of enmity could or ought to exist, he concluded with expressing a wish, 'that no other epitaph might be inscribed on his tomb, than

weeks: he spoke three hours and twenty-five minutes standing and sitting: he never made so long or so bad a speech, blaming the preliminaries in general, though he commended that part of them which relates to the cession made by France on the continent of North America.—Ellis's Original Letters, vol. iv. p. 456.

that he was the adviser of this peace, on the merits of which their lordships were required to decide.' He was seconded by the earl of Halifax; and notwithstanding all the arguments and objections of opposing peers, the address was carried by an immense majority.

When the belligerent powers in Germany saw Great Britain and France determined to effect a reconciliation between themselves, they became convinced of the propriety of terminating the miseries of war in a country exhausted by sufferings, which an authentic and contemporary historian has thus described:— 'Whole provinces had been laid waste; and even in those that were not, internal commerce and industry were almost at an end; and this too, in spite of the vast sums which France, England, Russia, and Sweden had scattered over them, either through their armies, or by means of subsidies. These sums, it has been calculated, amounted to 500,000,000 crowns of the empire. A great part of Pomerania and Brandenburg was changed into a desert: there were provinces where hardly any men were to be found, and where the women were therefore obliged to guide the plough: in others women were as much wanting as men. At every step appeared large tracts of uncultivated country; and the most fertile plains of Germany, on the banks of the Oder and the Wesel, presented only the arid and sterile appearance of the deserts of the Ohio and Oronoko.'[16]

Maria Theresa had lost all hope of retaining Silesia since the fall of Schweidnitz: harassed too by the defection of her allies, the disorder of her finances, and the declining health of her husband, she saw her own hereditary dominions open to the incursions of the Prussians, while Hungary was threatened by the Turks, whom Frederic had excited to hostilities. She was therefore obliged, though with great reluctance, to make overtures to her opponent; and these being favorably received, a conference was held at the close of the year in the castle of Hubertsburg in Saxony; where a treaty was signed on the fifth of February ensuing, of which those of Breslau and Berlin were the basis. Negotiations indeed were easily managed, where neither of the parties coveted aggrandisement or claimed compensation; and perhaps there is no instance of a convention, which concluded such a protracted and relentless contest, being conducted with so little delay and formality. The empress-queen, when she renewed her renunciation of Silesia, endeavored to retain

[16] Archenholz, quoted in lord Dover's life of Frederick II. vol. ii. p. 278.

possession of the county of Glatz; but was resisted with firmness by Frederic, and obliged to relinquish the whole territory. Each party guaranteed the other's possessions; all places and prisoners taken on either side were restored; all claims for reimbursment of expenses or reparations during the war were relinquished; and Frederic, by a secret article, engaged to give his vote to the archduke Joseph in the ensuing election of a king of the Romans. In this peace the empire was comprehended: and the treaty of Westphalia, with the other constitutions of the Germanic body, renewed: the same day saw likewise a treaty signed between Prussia and Saxony, in which Frederic covenanted to evacuate that country and to restore its archives, which he had carried off from Dresden.

The pacification of Hubertsburg left the states of Germany exactly in the same relative position as at the commencement of the late contest. The struggle was protracted as long as the means of warfare lasted; and most of the parties derived no other advantage from it, except that of knowing each other's strength, and learning to dread the renewal of such a conflict. Prussia, however, though she gained nothing in extended territories or increase of commerce, obtained an equivalent for all her disasters, in the consolidation of her power, in the acknowledgment of her high place among the confederated states of Europe, and in the prospect which lay open to her, when the sources of her prosperity should become developed under the genius of her monarch. In these advantages indeed all parties might be said to share, inasmuch as a due regulation of the balance of power affected the rights and liberties of all. Hence it follows, that this great septennial war was not, as it is sometimes represented, an unmixed and unmitigated evil; for by its means the European confederative system was maintained and carried on toward perfection: Prussia and Austria were now its main supports: neither Russia nor France could disturb its equilibrium for the present: since the power of the former was not sufficiently consolidated; and that of the latter was not only fettered by the court of Austria, but reduced to a state of extreme exhaustion in the late struggle. The relations therefore between Prussia and Austria, no longer hostile, nor yet friendly toward each other, remained as leading objects of European policy; and on their proper adjustment the balance of power chiefly depended.

The ties of friendship between the sovereigns of England and Prussia, loosened in the negotiations of the preceding year, were broken by these separate treaties; and a feeling of

resentment seems to have kept possession of Frederic's mind, which he took every occasion to display. No point of collision however existed on the continent, since the maintenance of the German empire and the integrity of the federative states-system were leading features in his policy. But this dissolution of alliance between the two kingdoms broke nearly all the great connecting links which bound England to the continent: her relations with Portugal and Holland alone remained intire; since Austria had abandoned her for a French alliance, and with Russia she was only slightly connected by a commercial treaty: but that power, which a dominion over the ocean and an unlimited commerce with the whole world bestow, was growing up to its full height, being peculiarly cherished by the genius of the nation, and advanced by some new treaties with the continental states: this was destined to restore, and augment, in a tenfold degree, the influence of Great Britain among those states, and to animate and direct their energies with an almost electrical effect.

In her efforts to arrive at such an eminence, she was compelled to exercise a kind of despotic power: not content with annihilating the navy of an enemy, she began to refuse to neutral flags the privilege of trading, even with its colonies: and this encroachment laid the foundation of a code, which England afterwards, in time of war, denominated her maritime law; modifying it according to time and circumstances, but never able to succeed in reconciling other nations to what they deemed an encroachment on their rights.

Numerous and mighty energies had been drawn forth by the late struggle, and a spirit of activity called out, which peace could scarcely allay. A kingdom like Prussia, which had raised itself from the class of secondary states to the highest rank of nations, could not hope to maintain its position but by constant exertion, and the development of all its powers; neither did its rival Austria dare to remain behind. The chief disturbing force of the age was found to be its growing intelligence, which enabled and excited men to discuss philosophical speculations; especially on those relations which exist between subjects and their rulers. The great mass of ideas which this intellectual activity brought into action, was looked on by many as the dawning of a brilliant day; but the lights which it diffused were too often those of a dazzling sophistry rather than of sober truth; hence arose considerable danger to existing institutions; for what was at first only reasoned about as a subject of speculation, soon came to be demanded as a matter of right.

As a considerable period of repose was naturally to be expected after so long and bloody a contest, the various governments that had been engaged in it now turned their attention, more or less, to domestic concerns. The fixed nature of the Austrian and Prussian dominion, admitting little or no change, left the sovereigns of those countries at liberty to attend intirely to their internal amelioration: both Frederic and Maria Theresa began instantly to adopt many salutary regulations, and to suppress many useless or hurtful institutions: nor did they forget to keep up in full force and discipline those great military establishments, which were necessary for the stability of their respective governments. Neither of these powers could be said to have been reduced to a state of humiliation by the other; for although Prussia was terribly lacerated by the wounds she had received, the renown of her monarch communicated its salutary influence to her people; and Austria herself, after combating with diversified success, and reducing her conqueror at times to the very brink of ruin, came unscathed out of the conflict, without losing any portion of her dominions.

The case was very different with respect to France, which had lost much both of honor and of territory. The people felt deeply this disgrace; but their monarch consoled himself for his disappointments in the lap of pleasure; and as a voluptuary is generally a tyrant, he soon engaged in violent and vexatious contests with the parliaments of his kingdom, the only institutions which kept alive any spirit of resistance to the extraordinary encroachments of the regal prerogative. Hence that loyalty of the French, which they had cherished above all other nations, began to lose its hold on the public mind: religion also, set at naught as it was by the monarch, soon became discountenanced by the great; and being exposed to the attacks of a new school of philosophers, who craftily employed the arms of ridicule, where argument was sure to fail, that main stay of public safety gave way, and left room for the elements of moral disorganization to act in this unhappy nation: to crown all, luxury and rapine advanced with rapid strides, and the declining state of its finances kept pace with every other evil. If any country could have resisted such a terrible combination, France might have been expected to succeed: with so fertile a territory, so advantageous a position among the European states, so great a variety of climate and productions, she generally requires only a short space of time to repair her losses, and renew her transcendent powers; but her government and the irritated feelings of her people now

counteracted or resisted every principle of amelioration; and when an opportunity occurred, it was eagerly seized, to retaliate on Great Britain for this state of national degradation. In the very same country too, where her greatest sacrifices had been made, was the prospect of revenge laid open: but a result took place which was foreseen by many reflecting minds: her ethereal spirit, coming into contact with the fire of American independence, created a blaze, which for a time enveloped the whole European continent, and intirely dissolved that boasted scheme of confederative policy which it had taken so many ages to rear. One mark of the changing system of things in France remains still to be mentioned. In this year, the parliament of Paris, with the co-operation of the king, issued a decree condemning the institution of the jesuits, releasing its members from their vows, and alienating the possessions of the order; which example was followed by the other parliaments of the kingdom.

Portugal, in the repose which she had bravely earned, found time to carry on a system of the most daring experiments ever planned; in which trial was made, how far a nation might be reformed by a strong but well-intentioned compulsion on the part of government. No minister ever attempted so comprehensive a reform, or executed it so violently, as the celebrated marquis Pombal, a man whose intelligence seems to have far outstripped that of the age in which he lived; every thing standing in the way of his designs was removed; even the jesuits were expelled from the most catholic kingdom in Europe, because the spirit of their order was opposed to the reforming principle: all the national institutions were then remodelled: all the energies of the people were developed, and the fairest prospects disclosed; education and social reformation were studiously promoted; while the two antagonistic principles,—protection to domestic industry, and freedom of external commerce,—were skilfully reconciled and arranged: but after twenty-seven years of trial, every trace of these extensive alterations quickly vanished: nothing was left, but the lesson thus practically taught, that national institutions established by force will fall when that force is taken away.

Under Charles III., no important change was made in the Spanish constitution, though his reign became distinguished by enlightened ministers who introduced many wise regulations into the affairs both of the mother country and of the colonies; but these had little effect on the great mass of the people, the features of whose character were too deeply marked to be

easily effaced. As the family compact was in full force, and Spain remained under French influence, there was no reason to apprehend hostilities from that country, while her ally was inclined to peace: besides, she was now feeling the effects of pride, treachery, and precipitate counsels, in the deep wounds inflicted on her commerce and colonies. It may here be observed, that no country ever received so much damage from its alliances with, or contiguity to, another; so much injuiry from the friendship, or enmity, of a neighbor; as Spain has received from France: the remark need not be confined to the times of Francis I., Louis XIV., or Napoleon: it is quite as applicable to those of Charles X. and of Louis-Philippe.

In the north, a new epoch began with the accession of the empress Catherine II., whose ratification of the separate peace made by Peter III. with Frederic severed her connexion with Austria, and left her free scope to act. If we pass over the voluptuous habits of this princess, and consider her only as a sovereign directing the government of an immense and half-civilised empire, we shall find her intitled to high praise. While she laid the plans of extensive conquests, and encircled almost all Europe and Asia with her diplomatic agency, she confined her immediate views to the states by which she was surrounded, and in which anarchy opened a large field to her exertions: Poland and Turkey were the principal objects of her political speculation; and in their fertile territories she determined to acquire granaries and magazines for that extensive dominion, which is perhaps destined to disturb all the ancient affinities of European states. In the mean time, like a wise and prudent sovereign, she employed the most assiduous care on the domestic concerns of her realm, multiplying and enlarging every opportunity of education, investigating the remotest parts of her empire for that laudable purpose, and abolishing the more cruel portions of the Russian code of laws: by thus enlightening the minds of her subjects, and sowing the seeds of political improvement, she gradually prepared a way for the introduction of a more free and liberal system of government. At present, Russia felt very sensibly the havoc of war in the decrease of her population; and this was an additional motive with Catherine to avoid precipitate quarrels: she herself was scarcely firm on the throne, or free from domestic dangers; all distant contests therefore were studiously to be shunned; while her nearer neighbours, Sweden and Denmark, exhausted in finances and awed by the extraordinary elevation of Russia, were not likely at present to disturb her tranquillity.

But of all the nations, that had taken part in this great contest, England acquired the most tangible advantages: these extended to the four quarters of the world, where her territories were enlarged together with her influence; but more especially did they appear in the progress of that colonial system which eventually raised her above all rivals. The great cause of this prosperity lay in her navy, which enabled her, during the existence of war, to keep up a regular communication with her most distant possessions, while it prevented her enemies from doing the same, and thus ruined their commerce. Her dominions in North America, extending from the mouth of the Mississippi to that of the St. Lawrence, and from the Alleghany mountains to the Atlantic ocean, were augmented by the acquisition of Canada; and never did authority seem more firmly established over so large a tract of country: who could foresee the events which were so soon to follow? In the eastern hemisphere, the dominion of Great Britain was gradually advancing by successive and secure steps: in this quarter, where her wisdom was displayed in yielding to the prejudices and supplying the wants of subject nations, her authority was respected, and her protection courted by the native powers. Her ancient relations with the united Netherlands were somewhat changed: jealousy of her naval and commercial pre-eminence operated to a considerable extent in alienating the minds of the people from their natural ally; but the family of the new hereditary stadtholder, being united by ties of blood with the royal family of Great Britain, still kept up a connexion between the two countries.

With regard to domestic policy, the long-meditated change of system was now coming into action. The peace which had been just concluded removed all foreign obstructions, and allowed the new monarch, with his ministerial adviser, to break the bonds of that oligarchical combination which had so long fettered his prerogative. It soon became necessary for those who sought office, especially if they fought under the banners of opposition, to found their claims on the confidence of the people rather than family connexions: hence the whigs began to embrace larger notions of liberty, and to conciliate adherents by a zealous advocacy of popular rights. From this period they declined rapidly from that character which they had established at the Revolution, contracting the habits of an opposition, and giving a different tone to parliamentary warfare: this, instead of being a struggle, as before, between whigs and tories, passed into a contest between the friends of the crown

and the advocates of the people; so that although the king liberated himself from the domination of the great families, his prerogative, to which few monarchs ever exhibited a stronger attachment, soon became more subject to the encroachment of popular pretensions. About this period also the very form and constitution of parliament underwent a change: many of the smaller boroughs rejected the influence of high families, or even of the crown itself; transferring their representation to persons recommended solely by wealth: indeed about the commencement of this reign we first hear of the sale of parliamentary seats: whence an opening was made in the legislature for the representatives of the monied and commercial interests, which were making rapid advances: in short, the house of commons appeared to consist of four different kinds of members: the crown had its immediate friends, who affected to belong to no party, to maintain no parliamentary connexions, and to hold no fixed opinions; the aristocratical families still retained a considerable portion of that influence which is inseparable from rank and property united; the popular interests found advocates through a change of sentiments; and the monied interests through that of the representation above mentioned.

CHAPTER V.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1763.

Opposition to the minister—Necessity for taxation—Reduction of expenditure—Principle of taxation—Cider tax—General opposition to it—Resignation of lord Bute—Conjectures regarding the cause—Changes in the cabinet—Mr. G. Grenville prime minister—Publication of the North Briton—Character of Wilkes—Use of this demagogue in the altered circumstances of the constitution—Close of the session—King's speech—No. 45 of the North Briton—General warrant issued from the home secretary's office—Wilkes arrested—Committed to the Tower—Preliminary proceedings against him—Judgment of chief justice Pratt respecting the privilege of parliament—Wilkes discharged from custody—Lord Temple disgraced—Wilkes's violent conduct—Effect on public opinion—Death of lord Egremont—Negotiations with Mr. Pitt to bring him into administration—These fail—Recourse had to the duke of Bedford—Ministerial changes—Birth of the duke of York—Meeting of Parliament—Proceedings against Mr. Wilkes—He is wounded in a duel—Debate on the privilege of parliament—Question carried against the decision of the court of common pleas—Protest in the house of lords—Address to the king—Riot when the order of parliament for burning No. 45 of the North Briton by the common hangman was put into execution—Proceedings of parliament in consequence thereof—Message from his majesty regarding the marriage of his sister—Actions brought by Wilkes against the secretaries and under-secretaries of state—Chief justice Pratt's amended judgment respecting general warrants—Public gratitude displayed towards him—Mr. Wilkes required to attend at the bar of the house—Interposes delay, and finally escapes to France.

THOUGH decisive majorities in parliament seemed to promise stability and permanency to the present ministry, several causes were at work, and others near at hand, which soon effected its overthrow. A grand coalition was organised at the house of the duke of Newcastle which held out a determined opposition; means were effectually taken to render the peace unpopular with a large portion of the people; while the measures of lord Bute were reviled, his abilities depreciated, and his character assailed by virulent party scribes. The definitive treaty signed on the tenth of February, 1763, was scarcely made known, when reports were circulated that the

British minister had been influenced by the ancient partiality of the Scotch to France, and even that the duke of Bedford had been bribed by the cabinet of Versailles to conclude a treaty disadvantageous to his country: by such means the people were so exasperated, that they hooted these noblemen through the streets; and so attacked lord Bute, that he could scarcely walk out safely without a disguise. Addresses too, on occasion of the peace, were refused by the counties of York and Surrey, and the difficulty of getting them up in many other quarters was not inconsiderable.

Popular indignation thus excited was likely to be increased by the necessity of taxation; for though at no time such a necessity is more strong, yet it is never less apparent to the people at large, and never less palatable, than when unaccompanied by the glory of victory, or the prospect of revenge. Ministers foresaw this, and determined, before any fresh burdens were laid on the nation, to adopt a rigid economy, and to effect a retrenchment in that profuse system of expenditure, introduced during the last two reigns, chiefly for the purpose of keeping up a venal interest in parliament. But although in the reformation of such abuses great regard was paid to just claims, a vehement outcry was raised by the dependents of former ministries against the present; many persons alleging that they had bought their places from their superiors in office, and were intitled, not only to retain them, but to make the best of their bargain: after all too, the saving thus effected was very inadequate to the exigencies of the state; and as the expenses of the war had left a large arrear of debt, ministers were obliged to negotiate a very considerable loan; while they took £2,000,000 from the sinking fund, and raised £700,000 by two lotteries. To discharge the interest it became necessary to impose new taxes on the people: nor could any principle be more fair than that which was laid down, of subjecting articles of luxury, rather than necessaries, to the impost: an additional duty of eight pounds a tun therefore was proposed on French wines, and half that sum on other wines: but as the luxuries of the lower classes are much more productive of revenue than those of the higher, it became expedient to include them also in the caculation; and as ale and porter were already taxed directly and indirectly, it was determined to lay a duty of four shillings the hogshead on cider. Certainly it does not seem unreasonable that the drinkers of this beverage should contribute to the public exigencies, as well as they who drink a liquor produced from malt: neither is there any species of

taxation less burdensome to the people, or more directly thrown on the consumer. than that of the excise; yet from the aversion which an Englishman feels to the visits of the officer, and to other operations of excise law, no scheme for extending it had ever failed to excite popular commotions: hence prudence might perhaps have dictated some other mode of raising money, until the temper and disposition of the people had been more clearly discovered, and their prejudices gradually removed: at all events, the present was a dangerous proceeding to be adopted by a minister against whom the tide of unpopularity ran so strong as it did against lord Bute. Instead, however, of imitating the conduct of sir Robert Walpole in similar circumstances, he persisted in the measure, with an obstinate inflexibility of purpose, which is too often mistaken for political wisdom; and the bill passed into a law, notwithstanding the eloquence of Mr. Pitt exerted against it in parliament, and the petitions of numerous corporate bodies; among which that of London distinguished itself by addressing his majesty in person. The opposition, being sure of the people's concurrence, took this opportunity of inveighing against their political antagonists; representing the measure as the extension of a hateful and oppressive system, which their scribes affected to consider as a scheme to plunder England, gratify the rapacity of Scotchmen, and establish the principles of arbitrary power.

Immediately when this unpopular measure had been carried, lord Bute astonished all parties by resigning his office, after having vainly endeavored to support his tottering administration, by aid of the talents and unscrupulous arts of Mr. Fox. Assertions were very generally made and credited, that he had retired from the rising storm of national indignation: that he had bargained with his successors for personal impunity, in case any parliamentary inquiry should be made into his administration; and that, although he nominally resigned the duties of prime minister, his intention was still to direct affairs behind the curtain, preserving power without its responsibility. As it has been already observed, the part taken in public matters by this nobleman subsequently to his retreat, is involved in a mystery, which time has deprived of the interest once attached to it: if he directed affairs for a season, he acted without any immediate connexion with the king, but through the princess dowager, with whom he was known to hold frequent consultations: these were always broken up at his majesty's approach, when lord Bute made his exit unperceived. The chief reasons of his resignation were probably a want of able support from

the cabinet which he had formed; a deficiency in courage and talent necessary to encounter the fierce opposition arrayed against him in parliament; and disgust at the scurrilities with which he was assailed by the populace: moreover, he had secured places for his friends in almost every department; a blue ribbon for himself; and a British peerage for his son; while the emoluments of office were as nothing to one who had lately succeeded to the princely fortune of his father-in-law. His own declaration was, 'that having restored peace to the world, performed his engagements, and established a system of policy so strong as no longer to need his assistance, he was determined to seek that domestic life and literary retirement which he loved;' how far these assertions corresponded with the opinion of his friends, is shown by the following extract from a letter of lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell:—

'Lord Bute resigned last Friday: he will have no office; and declares he will not be minister behind the curtain, but give up business intirely. The reasons he gives for this step are, that he finds the dislike taken to him has lessened the popularity which the king had and ought to have; that he hopes his retirement will make things quiet, and his majesty's government easy. To this public reason, lord Bute adds, that his health absolutely requires exercise and calmness of mind: he says, that he unwillingly undertook the business of a minister, on the king's absolute promise that he might retire when the peace should be made. I am of opinion that he had a clear and fully sufficient support in both houses of parliament, and therefore I deem his resignation voluntary: people are infinitely surprised at it; for my part, it is when a man accepts the ministry, not when he quits it, that my wonder is excited.'[17]

Together with lord Bute, sir F. Dashwood, who was unsuited either by inclination or talent to the business of finance, resigned office as chancellor of the exchequer, and went up to the house of peers with the title of lord le Despenser: Mr. Fox also was ennobled as lord Holland: lords Egremont and Halifax remained secretaries of state; while lord Sandwich was placed at the head of the admiralty in the room of G. Grenville,[18] who became prime minister, and united in himself the offices of chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury. He seems to have been selected by the king and lord Bute, as a ready instrument for carrying their

[17] Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. iv. p. 461.

[18] Brother of lord Temple, and brother-in-law of Mr. Pitt.

concerted plans into execution: his ambition led him to desire office, and his moderate fortune rendered him averse to relinquish it. Mr. Nicholls informs us,[19] that whenever the new minister resisted the wishes of the king and the princess dowager, he was recalled to obedience by a negotiation opened with Mr. Pitt; and that while he continued in office, this species of coercion was not unfrequently repeated.

The members of administration, being connected with lord Bute, or appointed by his recommendation, were supposed to remain under his influence, and to adopt his political maxims; and as the door was thus closed against the popular leaders, and public affairs seemed but little affected by the late minister's retreat, party spirit increased in violence, and the press teemed with scurrilous publications. Among these, a periodical paper, called the North Briton, became pre-eminently distinguished by its attacks on men as well as measures. The author of this journal was the celebrated John Wilkes, member of parliament for Aylesbury, and a lieutenant-colonel in the Buckinghamshire militia; a man possessed of considerable talents and acquirements, with an abundance of ready wit; but ruined in fortune, and disgraced by the most dissolute morals and profligate habits. His increasing embarrassments induced him, in the very beginning of this reign, to solicit a lucrative post under government;[20] and attributing his failure to lord Bute's influence over the royal mind, he began to vent his spleen against the government with such reckless abuse and calumny, that he at length raised a persecution against himself, which has brought him prominently out in the annals of his country. Scandalous indeed was the character of this demagogue, and interested were his motives; but now, since time has put an end to the party heat and animosity which they provoked, his restless spirit may perhaps be considered as an innoxious instrument, which was required to settle some important principles in the altered state of our constitution, or even to moderate that increasing influence of the crown, which, in the opinion of abler politicians than Wilkes, was becoming dangerous to public liberty.[1] While the audacity

[19] Recollections, vol. i. p. 14.

[20] 'In his real politics,' says Mr. Butler, who knew him intimately, 'he was an aristocrat, and would have much rather been a favored courtier at Versailles than the most commanding orator in St. Stephen's chapel: his distresses threw him into politics.'—Reminiscences, v.

[1] 'In one of the conversations,' says Mr. Butler, 'which Mr.

and talents of this pretended patriot fitted him for the enterprise, his character became an obstacle to his forming a party, or disturbing the public tranquillity longer than was necessary for the establishment and elucidation of those great constitutional questions, which were as yet unsettled and obscure. Every public man who defended him, as an opponent of arbitrary government, or as an object of ministerial tyranny, found it necessary to disclaim the slightest participation in his moral sentiments, or approbation of his shameless conduct: even the lower orders became at length disgusted by his indecency and profaneness; permitting him very soon to fall into oblivion, after he had performed that part in public affairs for which he seemed, as it were, especially designed.

On the nineteenth of April, a few days after the ministerial changes above mentioned had taken place, the king went to the house of lords, and closed the session by a speech, in which he thus noticed the peace, and the subjects principally connected with it:—

'My satisfaction at the establishment of peace, on conditions so honorable to my crown and so beneficial to my people, is highly increased by receiving from both houses of parliament the strongest and most grateful expressions of their intire approbation. These articles have been established, and even rendered still more advantageous to my subjects, by the definite treaty; and my expectations have been fully answered by the happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from this salutary measure. The powers at war with my good brother the king of Prussia have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation as that great prince has approved; and the success which has attended this negotiation has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace through every part of Europe. I acquainted you with my firm resolution to form my government on a plan of strict economy: the reductions necessary for this purpose shall be completed: although the army maintained in these kingdoms will be inferior in number to that usually kept up in former times of peace, yet I trust that the force proposed, with the establishment of the national militia, whose services I have experienced, and cannot too much commend, will prove a sufficient security for

Fox permitted the writer to hold with him, that great man expressed the same opinion on the magnitude of this influence. He said, that no one could conceive its extent and effect, who had not opportunities of observing its direct or indirect operation on every state and condition of life.'—Reminiscences, p. 74.

the future. I have seen, with the highest concern, the great anticipations of the revenue, and the heavy debts unprovided for during the late war, which have reduced you to the unhappy necessity of imposing further burdens on my people. Under these circumstances, it is my earnest wish to contribute by every means to their relief: the utmost frugality shall be observed in the distribution of the supplies which you have granted; and when the accounts of the money arising from the sale of prizes vested in the crown shall be closed, it is my intention to direct that the produce shall be applied to the public service.'

These patriotic and liberal sentiments of the monarch were followed, on the twenty-third of April, by the celebrated number XLV. of the North Briton, which did not confine itself to an abuse of the administration, but deliberately accused the king of uttering premeditated falsehoods from the throne. Though his majesty's ministers had borne the attacks of this libeller against themselves with indifference or contempt, they felt it a duty to take measures for vindicating the insulted honor of their sovereign; and the offensive publication, being laid before the attorney and solicitor-general, was by them considered strictly meriting a public prosecution: accordingly, a general warrant on the twenty-sixth of April issued from the office of lord Halifax, which ordered the authors, printers, and publishers, without describing or designating them by name,[2] to be seized, together with their papers, and brought before the secretary of state. To show the effects of a general warrant, it is only necessary to observe, that between that day and the twenty-ninth,[3] no less than forty-nine persons were taken up on suspicion; and among them a reputable tradesman, who was carried from his bed, his child being ill in the room, while his house was thrown into the utmost confusion, and ransacked of his papers: having been thus seized, he was still more cruelly detained in custody three days without any proofs of guilt appearing against him. On the twenty-ninth, the evidence of Messrs. Kearsley and Balfe, the publisher and printer, clearly determined Mr. Wilkes to be the author of number XLV. of the North Briton: still the general warrant was not withdrawn, by

[2] A general warrant to apprehend all persons suspected, without name or description, was illegal; and, in the words of Blackstone, 'void for its uncertainty; for it is the duty of the magistrate, and ought not to be left to the officer, to judge of the ground of suspicion.'

[3] See Gentleman's Magazine for 1764, p. 573.

virtue of which his house was forcibly entered, his doors and locks were broken open, and his papers placed in the hands of the messengers without any schedule or security for their recovery; whilst he himself was carried before lord Halifax.

Immediately after his apprehension, lord Temple, at Wilkes's particular request, applied to the court of common pleas for a writ of habeas corpus, and the motion was granted: but before this writ could be prepared, the offender having refused to answer any questions, had been committed to the Tower in close custody; being for the present debarred from the visits of his friends, and even of his lawyers.

Such were the circumstances which brought the very important question of general warrants into public notice and discussion. The illegality of these instruments was maintained by all who were acquainted with the forms of our constitution, and was subsequently confirmed by the highest legal authorities; but the process itself was a customary one, sanctioned by precedents; and it had been adopted by Mr. Pitt, as well as by other popular ministers: so that in the present instance the opinion of the crown lawyers was taken, not respecting its legality, but the offence of Mr. Wilkes; whether this brought him under its operation, and whether his parliamentary privilege protected him.

The first writ of habeas corpus, directed to the messengers, being ineffectual, as the prisoner was out of their custody, another was procured, and addressed to the constable of the Tower; by virtue of which, on the third of May, Wilkes was brought into Westminster-hall, where he took that opportunity of making a virulent speech against the administration; accusing ministers, with great effrontery and falsehood, of resorting to this mode of persecution, because they could not corrupt him. In order that the judges might have time to consider the case, the prisoner was remanded to the Tower, free access being granted to his counsel or his friends: and on the sixth he was again brought into court, where he made a second speech most inflammatory in its tendency, but which was cried up by his partisans as a master-piece of eloquence: after this, chief justice Pratt, subsequently known as lord Camden, and always found a stanch supporter of constitutional liberty, proceeded to deliver the opinion of the court. Inclining at this time to think the commitment legal, as supported by precedents, and justified by a regard for the public safety, though not agreeable to the forms of the constitution; deciding also that there was no necessity for a specification of particular passages in the

publication which had been deemed libellous, he nevertheless admitted that the privilege of parliament had been violated; inasmuch as this could only be forfeited by treason, felony, or breach of the peace: he accordingly directed Wilkes to be liberated from confinement.

But a man of stern temper and dogged resolution now ruled in the cabinet; while therefore the populace hailed this demagogue as the champion of their rights, and received him with acclamations of joy, the attorney-general was ordered to institute a prosecution against him for libel: the king also directed lord Temple's name to be erased from the lists of privy counsellors, for the countenance and support given by him to Mr. Wilkes; and more especially for the terms of regret, and even of compliment, used by that nobleman, when, as lord lieutenant of the county, he announced to him the loss of his commission: at the same time, the lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire was transferred to lord le Despenser.

Wilkes had no sooner regained his liberty than, slighting the advice of his more cautious friends to remain quiet until the decision of parliament and the courts of law was known, he determined to pursue his headlong course, and provoke persecution for the sake of that popularity which was sure to accompany it: he accordingly wrote a scurrilous letter to the secretaries of state, asserting that his house had been robbed, and that the stolen goods were in their possession; he even attempted to procure a search-warrant from a magistrate to examine their premises; and carried on his insults by printing the letter and distributing several thousand copies. Taking advantage also of popular enthusiasm, when he found the printers averse to run the hazard of publishing his productions, he established a printing-press in his own house, and sold copies of the proceedings against him at the price of a guinea: he also committed to this press a blasphemous and obscene poem, intitled 'An Essay on Woman,' affixing the name of the great commentator bishop Warburton to some of the accompanying annotations; and a sheet of this, not very honorably procured from one of his working printers, was laid before the secretaries of state. He next determined to republish the first forty-five numbers of the North Briton, with notes and emendations, though he was cautioned against this act, as affording more certain means for his own conviction: but, disregarding all advice, he put the work into a state of forwardness, and then set out to pass a few weeks in France.

The efforts of this public disturber were ably seconded by

anti-ministerial writers; so that many men even of talents and probity, though they detested his immorality, began to associate his name with ideas of liberty; the proceedings instituted against him were designated as tyrannical efforts of arbitrary power; and being attributed to the hateful influence of lord Bute, tended to lessen the respect in which his supposed ministerial dependents were held by the public. George Grenville, though a man of strong understanding, was better fitted to arrange the details and follow the routine of office than to enter into plans of a comprehensive and enlightened policy: he had been first brought into notice by his connexion with Mr. Pitt, but had neither personal influence nor intellectual sagacity to give stability to a political party: moreover his cabinet, which had never possessed much strength, was at this time brought to the verge of dissolution by the loss of its most efficient member, lord Egremont, who died on the twenty-first of August.

Under such circumstances, a coalition seemed desirable; and negotiations were opened with Mr. Pitt, to whom lord Bute stated the king's earnest wish of employing political talent and integrity, without respect to parties; and having obtained from him in return an explicit declaration of his views regarding men and measures, he settled for him an interview with his majesty at Buckingham-house on the twenty-seventh of August. At this conference, which lasted three hours, the king listened very patiently, while the ex-minister dilated on the infirmities of the peace, the disorders of the state, and the principal remedy which he proposed to adopt by restoring to power those great whig families, in whose abilities, experience, and integrity, the public reposed confidence. His majesty at this time made no objection to what he heard, farther than by saying 'that his own honor must be preserved:' he then broke up the conference, and appointed a second interview on the twenty-ninth.

In the intervening day, feeling confident respecting the result of his negotiations, Mr. Pitt conferred with the duke of Newcastle and other leaders of that party, by whom the plan of a new cabinet was arranged; so as to exclude the tories, and all persons concerned in bringing about the late peace: with this he went prepared to meet his majesty; but was doomed to experience a complete disappointment of his hopes; for though the king, desirous of obtaining this great man's services, expressed himself willing to receive into a new administration several members of the whig party; yet, true to his concerted scheme of policy, he refused to surrender the

whole direction of affairs to an oligarchical and exclusive confederacy. As the other continued inflexible in his opinion, that the government could not stand without aid from all those powerful leaders whom he had proposed, his majesty terminated the conference as follows:—'Well, Mr. Pitt, I see this will not do: my honor is concerned, and I must support it:'[4] or, according to other accounts, by this emphatic declaration:—'Should I consent to these demands, nothing more would be left for me to do, but to take the crown from my own head, place it upon yours, and then patiently submit my neck to the block.'[5] Many conjectures were formed, and many rumors set afloat, concerning this alteration in the king's sentiments; there can be little doubt that he was at the first interview charmed by Mr. Pitt's eloquence and reasoning into an apparent acquiescence in his policy; but when the intervention of a day had given him leisure for reflection, and for the recovery of his self-possession, he met the fascinating pleader on more equal grounds, and resolutely maintained his own preconceived opinions. His majesty is said to have then called ministers together, and made them acquainted with what had passed at the late conference; after which, in a spirited speech, he exhorted them to a diligent discharge of their duties in each department, so that no blame might be thrown on his government; declaring that he should be always willing to take their advice in council, and hoping that he should be able, by their assistance, to conduct affairs in the most unexceptionable manner, and for the good of his people; professing however a determination, for the future, never to be guided by the counsel of any individual; but to suffer any extremities, and even retire to Hanover, rather than permit himself to be enslaved by the ambition of any one among his subjects.[6]

After the failure of these negotiations, recourse was had to the duke of Bedford, by whose powerful influence and numerous connexions it was thought the tottering cabinet might still be supported: lord Sandwich was now made secretary of state, and lord Egmont placed at the head of the admiralty; while the duke himself, being appointed president of the council,[7] gave his name to this ministry, though Mr.

[4] See a letter from lord Hardwicke to a near relation on the subject of a ministerial negotiation in the year 1763, (London, 1785,) in which a detailed account of this conference is given.

[5] Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. iv. p. 471.

[6] Ibid.

[7] In the room of lord Granville, lately deceased.

Grenville still retained his post. The nation however generally was in a state of irritation, jealousy, and alarm; and probably nothing at this time could have restored immediate tranquillity but the introduction of Mr. Pitt into the cabinet.

On the sixteenth of August the queen was delivered of a second son, who was baptized by the name of Frederic, and afterwards created duke of York. The popular sentiments at this time respecting constitutional liberty may partly be gathered from the congratulatory address presented to the king by the city of London, in which was expressed a strong hope, 'that every increase of his royal family might prove an additional security to our religion, and to the great charter of liberty, which in consequence of our glorious revolution his illustrious house was chosen to defend.'

The newly arranged ministry met parliament on the fifteenth of November; when his majesty exhorted both houses to cultivate the blessings of peace, to improve the commercial acquisitions of the country, and to attend earnestly to the reduction of the heavy debts contracted in the late war; but with a care to support the navy, that most efficient instrument of British power: nor did he fail to impress on their minds the necessity of promoting domestic union, and discouraging that licentious spirit, which is repugnant to the true principles of liberty and of our happy constitution. On the return of the commons to their own house, Mr. Grenville, knowing it was the intention of Wilkes to make a formal complaint respecting the breach of privilege, anticipated every other motion by delivering a message from the king to the following effect:—'that his majesty having been informed that John Wilkes, esq., a member of that house, was the author of a most seditious and dangerous libel, he had caused the said John Wilkes to be apprehended and secured, in order to take his trial in due course of law; and Mr. Wilkes having been discharged out of custody by the court of common pleas, on account of his privilege as a member of that house, and having since refused to answer to an information filed against him by the attorney-general, his majesty, desirous to show all possible attention to the privileges of the house of commons, and at the same time solicitous not to suffer public justice to be eluded, had chosen to direct the said libel, and also copies of the examinations on which Mr. Wilkes was apprehended and secured, to be laid before them.' The same day Mr. Grenville proposed a resolution to this effect:—'that the paper intitled the North Briton, number XLV., is a false, scandalous, and seditious libel

against the king and both houses of parliament, manifestly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, withdraw them from obedience to the laws, and excite them to traitorous insurrections.'

Whatever may be thought of the effects produced by this parliamentary contest between ministers and Wilkes, there can scarcely be a doubt but that a due regard to their own interests should have restrained the former from engaging in it; especially as the case was already laid before a court of justice, and waiting its determination: but of all the ministers who have governed this country, probably no one ever had so high an opinion of parliamentary power as the man now at the helm; who would willingly have seen parliament despotic over both king and people. After a long and violent debate, in which the friends of the ministry dilated on the nature and mischievous tendency of seditious libels, while members of opposition endeavored to extenuate Wilkes's offence, the motion was carried, and the house made a party in the strife; the libel itself was ordered to be burned by the common hangman, and the whole question came to be considered as one of national importance.

After this motion had been disposed of, Wilkes, taking up the question of privilege, recounted to the house the proceedings which had been employed against him, and requested its judgment; when it was resolved to take the matter into consideration on the twenty-third: but on the same day, while Mr. Grenville's resolution was carried in the commons, the attention of the lords was called to the 'Essay on Woman.' [8] That the learned prelate,[9] whose name had been so scurrilously used on this occasion, should complain of a breach of privilege, surprised no one; but that lord Sandwich, whose own morality was more than questionable, should stand forward as a public censor, and argue at great length against profaneness and indecency, was a matter of astonishment to most men: it was however determined to proceed against the author of this scandalous publication for a breach of privilege, while he was indicted for blasphemy in the courts below.

[8] Infamous as this production was, the method employed to make it a matter of complaint, by bribing a journeyman printer to purloin a proof-sheet as it passed through the press, would scarcely be countenanced in these days. It is said that the author only intended to print a dozen copies for private distribution; but in the eye of the law, the act of printing implies publication.

[9] Bishop Warburton, the celebrated commentator; whose name was appended to some notes on the text.

During the debate in the lower house, Mr. Martin, member for Camelford, whose character had been also attacked in the North Briton, took occasion to stigmatise the writer as a malignant and infamous coward; in consequence of which Mr. Wilkes, in a letter, acknowleged the authorship, and a meeting between them ensued, in which the latter was severely wounded. On the twenty-third the question of privilege was taken up by the house, and a motion made, 'that the privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writers or publishers of seditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of law, in the speedy and effectual prosecution of so heinous and dangerous an offence.' The debate was carried on to a great length, and with great earnestness by different speakers: on the second day a letter was read from Mr. Wilkes, requesting an adjournment until he should be convalescent: the house however determined to proceed; and though ministers were deserted by some who generally voted on their side, while the opposition made a vigorous resistance against the surrender of supposed privileges, and though Mr. Pitt, in a speech of great eloquence and acuteness, deprecated the measure as dangerous to the freedom of parliament, and infringing on the rights of the people,—the resolution was carried by a majority of 258 to 133: this, being in direct contradiction to the late decision of the court of common pleas, appeared to be a strong mark of the ascendency which the executive power was now gaining over the legislative body, and of that servile spirit which was diffusing itself among the representatives of the people. The concurrence of the lords was not procured without considerable difficulty, and a long debate, in which lord Lyttleton took a prominent part on the side of ministers, entering at large into the history of parliamentary privilege, analyzing the powers of the crown and parliament, and opposing the doctrine of inviolability when applied to cases like the present. 'The dominion of law,' he concluded, 'is the dominion of liberty: privilege against law, in matters of high concernment to the public, is oppression, is tyranny, wherever it exists.' A spirited and able protest was signed by seventeen peers affirming it to be 'incompatible with the dignity, gravity, and justice of the house of Lords thus to explain away a parliamentary privilege of such magnitude and importance, founded in the wisdom of ages, declared with precision in their standing orders, repeatedly confirmed and hitherto preserved inviolable by the spirit of their ancestors; being called to it only by the other house on a particular occa-

sion, and to serve a particular purpose, *ex post facto*, *ex parte*, *et pendente lite* in the courts below.' In a conference of both houses, a dutiful and affectionate address was voted to the king, blaming with becoming indignation the insults offered to his majesty; the author of which was required to attend at the bar of the commons in a week, if his health would permit.

In the mean time, when the sheriffs of London attempted to execute the order for burning the North Briton at the Royal Exchange, the people began to manifest a spirit very different from that of their representatives: a violent riot ensued, the paper was rescued from the hands of the executioner before it was consumed, the staves of the constables were broken, and a flaming billet was thrown at Mr. sheriff Harley, which slightly wounded him, through the window of his carriage: the pieces of the libel which had been rescued were then conveyed in triumphal procession to Temple Bar, where a fire was kindled, and a large jack-boot committed to the flames, in derision of the late minister.

On the report of these proceedings, both houses of parliament concurred in voting that the rioters were disturbers of the public peace, dangerous to the liberties of their country, and obstructers of national justice: the thanks of the house of commons were voted to the sheriffs, and an address was presented to his majesty, praying that the most effectual methods might be taken for discovering and punishing the offenders. During such tumults and discussions, his majesty sent another message to parliament, announcing that proposals of marriage had been made by the hereditary prince of Brunswick-Luneburg to his sister the princess Augusta, and accepted; when the sum of £80,000 was voted for her dowry. On the twelfth of January following, the prince arrived in England; and on the evening of the sixteenth the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence.

Notwithstanding the parliamentary proceedings above mentioned, several actions had been brought in the court of common pleas against the messengers by persons arrested under the general warrant, and verdicts for damages obtained: Wilkes himself also had commenced actions against the two secretaries of state, and against Mr. Wood, under-secretary, for the seizure of his papers, and other injuries sustained. Lord Egremont died in the course of these proceedings; while lord Halifax, in a manner very derogatory to his character and cause, interposed all those means of delay which the law affords, and then stood out in contempt of court until his prosecutor was out-

lawed: but the action against Mr. Wood was duly tried in Guildhall, before chief justice Pratt and a special jury; when, after a patient hearing of fifteen hours, a verdict was given for £1000 damages, with full costs of suit. In his charge to the jury on this occasion, his lordship ventured to go far beyond his former opinion, regarding the general warrant on which Wilkes had been apprehended; pronouncing it illegal as well as unconstitutional, but expressing his wish that a matter of such importance should not rest on his sole opinion, since there were twelve judges, and a still higher court, where the question might be canvassed. 'If these superior jurisdictions,' said his lordship, 'should declare my opinion erroneous, I shall submit as becomes me, and kiss the rod; but I must say, I shall always consider it as a rod of iron for the chastisement of the British people.' This judgment respecting the illegality of general warrants, which was afterwards confirmed by lord Mansfield,[10] secured a lasting popularity to the constitutional judge by whom it was promulgated. The corporation of Dublin took the lead in presenting him with the freedom of their city in a gold box; others followed the example; and that of London, in addition to such mark of respect, requested that he would sit for his picture, to be placed in Guildhall, as a memorial of gratitude.

When the order was made for the attendance of Mr. Wilkes at the bar of the house of commons, two gentlemen of the medical profession appeared in his stead, and declared that the state of their patient's health would not permit him to obey the injunction: the time was then enlarged to a week; and at the end of that period, the excuse being repeated, it was still farther extended beyond the Christmas recess: but in order to prevent collusion, Dr. Heberden and Mr. Cæsar Hawkins, two eminent medical men, were requested to observe and report upon the progress of his cure. Mr. Wilkes refused to admit their visits; but to vindicate the character of his own friends, he called in Dr. Duncan and Mr. Middleton, who both held appointments under the crown; observing, in his sarcastic strain, that as the house of commons wished him to be watched, he thought two Scotchmen most proper to be his spies. But either his case was less dangerous than was imagined, or his fears were greater; for he seized an opportunity, when the house adjourned, of escaping to the continent, under pretence of visiting his daughter, who was said to be very ill at Paris.

[10] In arguing on bills of exceptions which were granted at the foregoing trials.

CHAPTER VI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1764.

Proceedings against Wilkes—Question on the legality of general warrants—Wilkes indicted, found guilty, and outlawed—Harsh proceedings against general Conway and others—Supplies raised—Notion taken up of taxing the American colonies—Manner in which the scheme was introduced—Postponed to the next session of parliament—Sentiments of the Americans on the subject, and measures taken by them to oppose it—These aided by other circumstances—The question considered, as to its right and expediency—War with the Indian tribes of North America—Peace concluded—Conduct of the savages and their prisoners, when the latter was delivered up—Bill for preventing abuses in franking letters—Exhortations in the king's speech—These needed by the state of the country—Voyages of discovery—Prince Frederic appointed bishop of Osnaburg—King of the Romans—Affairs of Poland, and election of Poniatowski to the throne—Affairs of Corsica—Final suppression of the jesuits in France—Death of Madame Pompadour—Injuries and insults offered by the French and Spaniards to the British nation redressed, and peace preserved.

DURING the recess of parliament, speculation was afloat respecting the return of Mr. Wilkes in obedience to the order of the house; but on the nineteenth of January, the last day fixed for his appearance, the speaker produced a letter from him, inclosing a certificate signed by one of the French king's physicians, and an army surgeon, testifying that he could not quit Paris without danger to his life: these documents, however, being unauthenticated, were considered nugatory; and the whole conduct of the man appearing as if designed to oppose or elude parliamentary authority, the house determined to proceed with the charges against him; when, after a full examination of witnesses, which lasted till three o'clock in the morning, it was voted that number XLV. of the North Briton was an infamous and seditious libel—that Mr. Wilkes be expelled the house—and that a new writ be issued for the borough of Aylesbury. This measure had ultimately the effect of rendering Wilkes a popular champion in that memorable struggle between the house of commons and the electors of Middlesex, which served to define the power of the representative body in relation to its constituency.

But although the triumph of ministers was thus far complete, they were soon attacked at a point where defence was not so easy; for notwithstanding the expulsion of this demagogue, his complaint on the subject of parliamentary privilege was taken up as a constitutional question, which occupied the attention of the house for several days.[11] On due inquiry, nothing seemed to have been done by lord Halifax, or the under-secretaries, which was not warranted by official usage since the revolution of 1688; and as it was agreed that no reason for censure existed against those public functionaries, the complaint was dismissed; and a motion to produce the general warrant, whence it arose, was also rejected. A general question was next submitted to the house, for declaring such a warrant illegal: ministers, however, though they abstained from directly asserting its legality, would by no means consent to this declaration of law by one branch of the legislature: Westminster-hall, they observed, was the best interpreter of the law, where the point was still under discussion:[12] if this were not admitted, recourse must be had to a regular act of parliament; they proposed therefore to adjourn the consideration of the question four months, which was only a civil way of getting rid of it altogether.

The principal point urged by ministers was long-established precedent; of which they cited instances in the administration, not only of lord Townshend and the duke of Newcastle, but of Mr. Pitt himself. In his explanation, however, that statesman, after declaring it was time to do justice to the nation, the constitution, and the laws, denied that precedents afforded any justification; saying that when he himself issued such warrants, he knew them to be illegal; but preferring the general safety, in time of war and public danger, to every personal consideration, he ran the risk, as he would that of his head, if necessary, and did an extraordinary act, against a suspicious foreigner just come from France, who was concealed at different times in different houses. He distinguished strongly between his case and that before the house. 'What was there in a libel,' said he, 'so heinous and terrible, as to require this formidable instrument, which, like an inundation, bore down all the barriers and fences of happiness and security? Parliament had voted

[11] The principal leaders on the popular side were Sir W. Meredith and Sir G. Savile.

[12] The chief justice of the court of common pleas indeed had given his opinion; but the judgment of the court of king's bench, on the bills of exception that were taken, was not yet delivered.

away its own privilege, and laid the personal freedom of every representative of the nation at the mercy of his majesty's attorney-general. If the house negatived this motion, they would become the disgrace of the present age, and the reproach of posterity ; being found, after sacrificing their own privileges, to have abandoned the liberty of the subject, on a pretence wilfully grounded in error, and manifestly urged for the purpose of delusion.'

After an animated debate, the question of adjournment was carried, at seven in the morning, by a small majority of fourteen ; there being 218 votes against the proposal, and 232 in favor of it : but the illegality of general warrants was so effectually established by these numbers, and by the previous discussion, that henceforth the use of them was discontinued. Here then was one great constitutional principle settled by the instrumentality of a very unworthy member of society : nor did a long period elapse, before the ministerial measures taken against him effected other important alterations in the practical part of our constitution.

Wilkes, having entered an appearance in Westminster-hall, was tried and convicted on two indictments, for publishing number XLV., and the 'Essay on Woman :' but his cause being identified with that of the constitution, his popularity remained undiminished, and the spirit excited by the proceedings against him unallayed : being afterwards outlawed for not appearing in court to receive sentence, the suit which he had carrried on against the secretaries of state fell to the ground.

Though the power of ministers seemed to be shaken in the late contest, yet they had only been deserted by some of their partisans on this occasion ; as it soon appeared, when other questions, especially that of the supplies, came to be discussed : they had less reason therefore, and less excuse, for indulging in a vindictive spirit, by dismissing some military officers of rank from the service, and among them lieutenant-general Conway, whose merit and abilities intitled him to very different treatment : that which he received was creditable neither to the ministers nor to the sovereign ; for the question leading to it was one which involved an important point of constitutional doctrine ; and if the holding a commission in his majesty's service must prevent a member of the legislature from giving a conscientious vote on such an occasion, great injustice is done, not only to the individual himself, but to the nation at large.

The method proposed for raising the supplies this year was so far gratifying to the public, as it involved the imposition of

no new taxes: not a loan was opened, nor even a lottery accepted, though few ministers had hitherto let slip such favorable opportunities of obliging their friends and strengthening their connexions. As a large debt contracted on account of the late war still remained to be satisfied, it was proposed to discharge this, to the amount of £2,000,000. Exchequer bills to the value of £1,800,000, were at such a discount, as to weigh down the whole fabric of public credit: but as the Bank contract was to be renewed, the treasury prudently took advantantage of such favorable circumstances, and stipulated with this body to receive £1,000,000 of these bills for two years, at an interest reduced by one-fourth; as well as to pay a fine, on the renewal of its charter, of £100,000. For the rest of the exchequer bills, new ones were struck off; and £700,000, the produce of French prizes, taken before the declaration of war, was applied to the public service. Ministers also brought to account, what, as they stated, had been left long unaccounted for, to the reproach of administration and the detriment of the service, the saving on non-effective men; which amounted to so large a sum as £140,000. With these resources, added to the land-tax now grown into a settled revenue of four shillings in the pound, the duty on malt, £2,000,000 overplus taken from the sinking-fund, and some other savings, they paid off the above-mentioned debt, and provided for the service of the ensuing year, with all its establishments and contingencies; the whole amounting to £7,820,102. They justified this employment of the overplus of the sinking-fund by precedents, and by the wisdom of the measure itself; but they principally rested on the credit of having augmented it by near £400,000 in the single article of tea, an immense quantity of which had been brought to pay duty, by prudent measures taken in the prevention of smuggling, and a more careful collection of the revenue.

But the most important measure that distinguished this session was the proposal to extract a direct revenue from the colonies. This idea was not wholly new; for when sir Robert Walpole failed in his excise scheme, he was earnestly recommended by sir William Keith, governor of Virginia, to impose a tax on the North American provinces; but the reply of that cautious and far-seeing statesman was to the following effect:—'You see I have old England against me already: do you think that I can wish to set new England against me also?' George III., however, had different notions on this subject: for the scheme of taxing America was now taken up by him,

and it met encouragement from a considerable majority of the nation, among whom the true principles of political economy were as yet very little known or regarded. At a period, when economy was loudly called for, his majesty proposed it to Mr. Grenville, as a just as well as advantageous measure, for relieving the country from those financial difficulties which had been occasioned by a war, undertaken chiefly for the protection and security of the colonies themselves.

The minister is said to have acknowleged that the proposed plan had not unfrequently occupied his own thoughts; though he had come to a conclusion not only that it was impracticable, but that the very attempt to put it into execution would produce alarming consequences. The king listened patiently to his observations, but remained unconvinced: he again introduced the subject to Mr. Grenville, who still objected to the measure; when his majesty gave him to understand, that if he was disinclined or afraid to bring it forward, others would be found with resolution enough to make the attempt. Having then only the alternative of resigning his office or complying with the king's inclinations, he chose the latter, and determined to incorporate this into a series of resolutions, framed for the promotion of his favorite object, the increase of the revenue.

In his regulations for the prevention of smuggling, Mr. Grenville had extended the collecting powers of naval officers to America and the West Indies; and they began to seize all ships employed in a clandestine trade, largely carried on at this time between the English and the Spanish colonies; a trade, which was found very advantageous to England herself, as a channel through which her manufactures were imported into Spanish settlements, while she received a return in gold and silver: but to the North American colonists it was almost necessary; as it chiefly enabled them to pay for the manufactures which they drew from Great Britain: accordingly they murmured loudly at the check which it thus received. At the same time another measure contributed to increase their ill humor. The colonial assemblies, during the war, had been in the practice of issuing bills; which being made legal tenders for money, had suffered a depreciation, and caused some inconvenience: to remedy these evils, Mr. Grenville procured the enactment of a law, to prevent any such bills, as might hereafter be issued in his majesty's American provinces, from being made legal tenders; which obstruction of their paper currency was very displeasing to the colonists; but their dissatisfaction reached its climax, when in order to make them participate in

the expenses necessary for their protection, it was resolved to bring them under the operation of direct taxes imposed by the British legislature.

A distinction had been hitherto preserved in those provinces between taxes, and duties arising from the exportation or importation of merchandize: payments had been imposed on certain goods and produce, when carried to a foreign country, or to a different colony; and to such imposts, considered merely as regulations of trade, the Americans had raised no objection: but when the minister proposed a deviation from this practice, and one which involved in it the rights of British subjects, the colonists quickly took alarm; the proposition became far more serious and complicated than its authors anticipated; and the scheme of raising an inconsiderable revenue from stamps used in the colonies, laid the foundation of one of the most important revolutions in the history of the world.

For the present, however, the introduction of a bill to sanction this financial measure was postponed to the next session of parliament, in order to allow time for the colonists to petition against it, if deemed exceptionable; or to offer an equivalent for what it was expected to produce.

The inhabitants of New England, whose republican sentiments particularly prompted them to oppose all such attempts, and whose bold intelligent character was best fitted for resistance, were the first to investigate these new schemes, and to discover their tendencies. They soon perceived that if the claim made by England to tax the colonies for her own benefit, and at her own discretion, should once be conceded, a system of oppression might be introduced, which from the nature of things would gradually become insupportable; but which, when once established, could hardly be removed by any efforts: as they were unrepresented in the British parliament, what could prevent the house of commons from going on to relieve themselves at their expense? and what compunction would be felt by a legislature in ordaining taxes from which the imposers would be intirely free? They accordingly denied the authority of the British parliament to levy any direct tax on the colonies: declaring every such attempt to be a violation of their rights as colonists, possessing by charter the privilege of taxing themselves for their own support; and as British subjects, who ought not to be taxed except through their proper representatives.

The inhabitants of the northern provinces had not lost that

inflexibility of character, or captious spirit, which distinguished their sectarian ancestors: and long before this period there existed among them men who were determined to seek as well as to seize every opportunity of revolt: these gladly availed themselves of the present to propagate their sentiments, and to excite a spirit of discontent and resentment against Great Britain in those provinces of the south, whose milder character and increasing prosperity rendered them more obedient to government, and more attached to the mother country. The New Englanders succeeded in this design to a considerable extent: having obtained a power of appealing to the feelings even of the most loyal, without offence, they engaged their countrymen to abstain from the use of luxuries which had hitherto been imported from Great Britain; and having made colonial taxation a regular subject of petition to king, lords, and commons, they established very extensively the principle of resistance, and sowed the seed of that discontent throughout the states, which finally separated them from Great Britain.

Some other causes too at this time were in operation, by which these efforts were assisted. Government had lately established a permanent military force in the provinces, to support the executive power; and, by increasing the salaries of the judges, had given rise to an opinion, that it was desirous of diminishing their independence: besides, many of the governors were thought to be inclined to arbitrary measures; and against several of them complaints had been made, which either received no attention from ministers, or if a reply was given, it was accompanied with asperity and rebuke; into this account also must be taken the vast increase of population lately introduced into all the provinces by the immigration of discontented spirits, and that feeling of independence, which increasing prosperity and the possession of strength produces.

In such a state of public sentiment the postponement of the stamp-duty was a measure intirely nugatory: not a single province authorised its agent in England to consent to this tax, to propose any other in its stead, or to promise an equivalent; while every debate in their assemblies at home was marked by a determined opposition to the assumed jurisdiction of the British government over their property.

After the lapse of time that has taken place since the period of these disturbances; possessing, as we do, the power of forming a judgment of things from events; and being free from the heat and animosity which affected all parties concerned in them;—we are apt to assume too much credit to ourselves for

a different course of action which we should have recommended; and perhaps ascribe too high a degree of blame to those who first loosened the ties which connected our American provinces with the parent state. As to the main point, our right of taxing unrepresented colonies, there were very few persons at that time who denied its existence: planted as these colonies had been by Great Britain, cherished by her resources in their infancy and weakness, protected by her strength against powerful foes, and raised to prosperity by her enlightened wisdom;—they never complained of privileges violated or rights disturbed, until they saw themselves freed from all those enemies on their frontiers, against whose attacks the force of the mother country was necessary to defend them. Their great object in their charters had been to gain a title to her favor, by the insertion of clauses importing that they were still to be considered as Englishmen; and in return for protection, they had frequently submitted to such fiscal regulations, as went far, in general opinion, to establish the principle of taxation.[13] But when England, exhausted by a long war, undertaken chiefly for the defence of these very provinces, endeavored to draw aid from their returning prosperity, then it was that abstract propositions were set up, and claims were made, which, if granted to the Americans, appeared applicable to all our dependencies, like the isle of Man, and others of the same rank: such a position seemed absurd to the politicians of that time; and when to this feeling was added that of indignation against the ingratitude of the colonists, and the consciousness of our own strength, so lately and so triumphantly shown,—we cannot be greatly surprised at the compulsory measures adopted by England, or the pertinacity with which they were carried on; for although, as regards the right of taxation, precedents drawn from the fiscal and commercial regulations above alluded to may be controverted and perhaps refuted;—yet that such a right was then generally acknowleged, and the exertion of it in our particular circumstances considered just and reasonable, cannot be denied: it is no disparagement to ministers to say, that some persons existed, who thought differently regarding this right itself, and whose penetration anticipated the evils which the proposed plans were calculated to produce—that the sagacity of dean Tucker boldly advocated the scheme of liberating the colonies at once from their dependence, and profiting by claims thus established to their

[13] See Stedman's History of the American War, pp. 10. 44.

love and gratitude—that governor Pownal was enabled by his knowlege and experience to show their power as well as their determination to resist oppression—and that lord Chatham, with all the fire and force of eloquence, insisted on their rights and deprecated every harsh measure which tended to hasten the catastrophe that ensued; parliament could scarcely anticipate the result of the contest; its legal advisers reasoned only from the usage of past times; a majority in the country went with it; while the king would sooner have parted with his head, than have relinquished a right which he considered as attached to his crown.

The foregoing observations are intended to apply solely to the question of right, not to that of expediency; and to vindicate the parliament, not the minister of the day. Little indeed can be said in excuse of Mr. Grenville: he prided himself on his talent for figures; he stood prominently forward as a financial minister; and he ought to have known that the finances of the country were not exhausted; that it had the means of raising a revenue more than adequate to its expenses, without searching for new sources; and that from the increasing commerce of America alone, if well governed, it would soon have been enabled even to pay off the national debt: if he did not know this, he was not fit for the situation which he occupied; if he did know it, and yet consented to carry the king's favorite measure for the purpose of keeping his own place, the slur on his abilities will be removed, only to be fixed on his moral character.

But while the seeds of war were springing up in our American colonies, government was relieved from a considerable source of anxiety, which had for some time existed, in a merciless contest with the savage tribes bordering on their territories. The colonists had not only imprudently neglected all means of securing the affection and confidence of the Indians since the conclusion of the Canadian war, but had unwarrantably pushed their settlements beyond prescribed limits, and trenched on the hunting grounds, whence are the chief resources of savage life. Irritated by seeing strangers almost surrounding their woods with a strong line of forts, and alarmed at an unfounded report which was industriously circulated by French jesuits, that their extirpation was intended, these wild tribes had formed a powerful confederacy in the spring of the preceding year, and made a sudden attack during harvest on all our frontier settlements. The surprise being complete, a large number of planters were put to death with every species of torture that

savage ingenuity could devise: their effects were plundered, their habitations burned, their crops destroyed, and many members of their families carried off; while numerous itinerant merchants, travelling throughout the country, and relying on the peaceable disposition of the people, were cruelly murdered; with a loss of property, valued at £200,000. In consequence of these ravages, the western frontiers of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were deserted, and the savages surprised three garrisons: they were rapidly advancing on the principal force stationed at fort Pitt, when general Amherst despatched a strong detachment under captain Dalzel; which, being fiercely attacked on its march, with difficulty effected a retreat into fort Detroit: a numerous body of Indians then surrounded fort Pitt, to the relief of which colonel Bouquet advanced with a strong corps under his command; the severities and dangers which these troops underwent can only be conceived by those who know what in those days was to be done and to be endured in an American campaign, where every object was frightful in the nature of the country, the enemy, and the climate; where inhospitable woods and morasses afforded no refreshment to the healthy, or relief to the sick and wounded; where victories were rarely decisive, but defeats most calamitous; and where simple death was one of the least misfortunes that could befall a soldier. The Indians, who had their scouts over all the country, were no sooner informed of the march of the English troops, than they abandoned the blockade of the fort, in order to cut off, if possible, the advancing reinforcement: having met it in a rough and mountainous country, near a dangerous defile, called Turtle Creek, which the British were preparing to pass by night after a fatiguing march of seventeen miles, they made a sudden assault on the advanced guard; but were beaten off, and even pursued to a considerable distance. As soon as the savages were driven from one eminence, they occupied another, until by a constant accession of numbers they were enabled to surround the whole detachment, and to attack its convoy in the rear. The action now became general; above sixty of the British troops were killed or wounded; and it required all their skill and bravery to repulse the foe, which came on them increasing in numbers: at length they succeeded; and placing their wounded, with the convoy, in the centre, they passed an anxious night without repose, surrounded by daring enemies, who seemed to wait only for the light in order to complete their destruction.

When morning dawned, the Indians, at a short distance, began to utter terrific yells in order to intimidate their antagonists; after which they rushed to the assault with the ferocity of wild beasts, making the most vigorous efforts to penetrate into the camp: though repulsed, they still continued their attacks; and the British, continually victorious, were yet exposed to the greatest dangers. Colonel Bouquet, seeing that when the savages were hard pressed they always fled off, to rally with greater effect, and that every thing depended on bringing them to close action, determined to feign a retreat; and this manœuvre completely succeeded; for as the Indians were rushing on with the anticipation of victory, the first two companies halted and received them with a steady fire; at the second volley they fled, but were received by two other companies who had wheeled round, and now presented themselves, wholly routing and pursuing them with great slaughter: the British however had suffered so much, that they were obliged to destroy part of their provisions, and thus give up a chief object of their expedition. About two miles farther on, they received another attack, which was again defeated; and the detachment arrived at fort Pitt in four days after the action, having suffered in killed and wounded nearly as much as the Indians: but to these latter, who were not populous tribes, the loss, increased as it was by the death of their bravest chiefs, was deemed to be almost irreparable.

Though forts Detroit and Pitt were thus secured, the Indians in other parts were not discouraged, but made an attempt on Niagara; chiefly however attacking the convoys, with the hope of reducing it by starvation. The great distance of the forts from each other, and of all from any civilized portion of the country, favored this design: near to the carrying place of Niagara a large body of savages, surrounding a convoy of British troops, killed seventy-two privates, and several officers; on lake Erie they had the rashness to attack, in their canoes, a schooner conveying provisions to fort Detroit; but here they were repulsed with great loss; for against that floating battery they were not able to make approaches with so much facility as by land.

In this stage of the business, general Amherst, aware that, although British discipline and valor must ultimately triumph over wild ferocity, the prosperity of the colonies would suffer greatly in a prolonged contest, used the powerful influence of sir William Johnson with the Indian warriors; and the indefatigable zeal of that officer contrived to retain in the

British interest such of them as had not yet commenced hostilities: he also met with great success among the 'six nations,' and some neighboring tribes; but could not prevail on the Senecas and their allies to discontinue their massacres and depredations, until they felt the effects of British power; when they also began to profess a desire for peace.

In the treaty made with them by sir William, all occasions of future quarrel were guarded against; their limits were more accurately determined; their past offences were forgiven; and, in consequence of a solemn engagement to commit no more acts of violence, they were re-admitted to the friendship of Great Britain, and indulged in a fair and open trade. This reconciliation took place in April; and a principal source of assistance being thus cut off from the other hostile tribes, these also were soon reduced to submission by the skilful and determined conduct of colonels Bouquet and Bradstreet, each of whom advanced into their territories with a large body of troops: treaties were then concluded with the chiefs, who delivered up their prisoners, renounced all pretensions to the forts and other posts already occupied by the British; admitting also their claim to build others necessary for trade, and giving hostages for the fulfilment of the terms of this convention.

The scene which ensued, when the prisoners were brought in, is represented as having been one of extraordinary interest, exhibiting the mingled effects of expectation, terror, joy, and disappointment in a high degree; fathers and mothers recognising and clasping their long-lost infants, husbands clinging to the necks of their newly-recovered wives, sisters and brothers scarcely able to speak the same language, or for a time to feel certain that they were the offspring of the same parents; numbers both of men and women flying from place to place, after relations not found; trembling to receive an answer to inquiries, or stiffened with horror at the tidings of their unhappy fate.

The Indians too bore a part in heightening these affecting scenes: they delivered up their captives with the utmost reluctance, shed tears over them in torrents, and continued their regard to them all the time they remained in the camp, visiting them daily, and bringing presents with every mark of tender affection. The following extract from the speech of the Shawanese chief, on releasing his prisoners, shows the strong attachment felt by these native tribes for the captives they had preserved:—'Father,' said he to the English officer, 'we have brought your flesh and blood to you: they have been all united

to us by adoption; and although we now deliver them up, we will always look on them as our relations, whenever the Great Spirit is pleased that we may visit them: we have taken as much care of them as if they had been our own flesh and blood; they are now become unacquainted with your customs and manners; and therefore we request you will use them tenderly and kindly, which will induce them to live with you contentedly.'[14] When the army marched, many solicited and obtained leave to accompany their former captives as far as fort Pitt, and employed themselves in hunting, and bringing provisions for them on the road. A youth of the Mingo nation had conceived so great an affection for a Virginian young woman, whom he called his wife, that against all remonstrances he persisted in following her; and this at the risk of being killed by the surviving relatives of many unfortunate persons who had been captured or scalped by his tribe. Again, among the prisoners, numbers both of children and adults were found unwilling to leave those with whom they had so long sojourned: the Shawanese were even obliged to bind several, and force them along to the camp: many women, who were delivered up, clung to their savage companions at parting, and continued in bitter lamentations, refusing even sustenance: while some found means afterwards to escape, and ran back to the Indian territories.

Among the bills prepared for a royal assent at the close of this session, was one to increase the revenue of the post-office, by correcting and restraining many rank abuses in the practice of franking letters, through which it was ascertained that government lost on an average the annual sum of £170,000. It was now made felony, subject to the punishment of transportation, to forge a frank.

The measures of administration were generally viewed with satisfaction in the house of commons. 'Mr. Grenville,' says lord Barrington, 'has obtained a great deal of credit very deservedly; and this credit helps him everywhere. Lord Halifax's garter is well-timed; and my lord chancellor is made an earl, purely to show favor to such as firmly support government.'[15] The king's speech on dismissing his parliament contained little beyond the usual thanks to both houses for their wise and spirited exertions, a declaration of pacific assurances from foreign powers, and an exhortation that all would employ the present season of tranquillity in perfecting the works of

[14] Annual Register for 1765, p. 207.

[15] Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. iv. p. 479.

peace so happily commenced. It cannot indeed be denied that such exhortation was strongly called for in the present state of domestic affairs: for not only did the cider tax occasion many turbulent meetings and violent resolutions, which ended frequently in riots; but a great scarcity of provisions[16] gave rise to much discontent, causing a vast increase in robbery and almost every species of crime; which evils were augmented by the discharge of numerous soldiers and sailors at the peace, who had not yet procured employment, or settled into habits of industry. In consequence also of the greater resort of country gentlemen and landed proprietors to the metropolis, anxious to obtain lucrative offices under government, increased as these were by the extent of our conquests and colonial acquisitions, an immense quantity of land was left to the management of stewards and bailiffs; while the owners involved themselves in debt, and were reduced to the necessity of raising their rents. This took place particularly in Scotland and Ireland; so that the people were driven to despair, and many thousands of industrious artisans emigrated to North America, in order to obtain means of subsistence, and at the same time to preserve the religion and customs of their forefathers. This multitude, indignant at the treatment they had received at home, and adopting a mode of life which approximated to the principles of primeval equality, helped to accelerate that separation of the colonies from the mother country which probably could not have been long deferred.

The absence of those strong excitements which spring from a state of warfare turned men's attention to maritime discoveries, of which the king was an active patron: his munificence seemed to restore that spirit of enterprise which distinguished the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and which now produced results no less brilliant than the successes of the war had been. It was in this year that commodore Byron set sail on his voyage; being successfully followed by captains Wallis, Cartaret, Cook, and Mulgrave; so that in a few years from this time discoveries were made of greater extent and importance than all which had occurred since the expeditions of Columbus.

A vacancy was now announced in the bishopric of Osnaburg,

[16] This scarcity formed the subject of parliamentary inquiry, when it appeared by the evidence of many witnesses to have been chiefly occasioned by the scandalous arts and practices of forestallers, gaining the command of the markets, and keeping them in a few hands. See Annual Register for 1764, p. 138.

the presentation to which was in the houses of Saxony and Hanover alternately; and as the present turn belonged to George III. in his quality of elector, he bestowed it on his infant son, prince Frederic: but although the chapter obeyed his *congé d'élire* in this nomination, they were unwilling to give up the management of the revenues during the minority of the young bishop; and the dispute which arose on this subject was subsequently referred to the superior jurisdiction of the Empire. The archduke Joseph was also elected king of the Romans: but a still more important election, as it regarded the affairs of Europe, took place in Poland, the throne of which kingdom had been vacant since October, 1763, and was now filled by count Poniatowsky, a favorite of the Russian empress. During the interregnum, Catharine acquired a great ascendency in the affairs of Poland; and by protecting the dissidents[17] against the jealousy and injustice of the Roman catholics, introduced a large army into the country, by means of which the dissidents formed a strong confederation: this was afterwards opposed by a similar force of their antagonists; which soon brought the king to the necessity of casting himself on the protection of the empress for the preservation of his crown.

In her general system regarding Poland, Catharine was supported by the king of Prussia, whose great object was to prevent its throne from becoming hereditary in the house of Saxony; but the empress strongly opposed the establishment of any hereditary succession: and this was the object of a secret article in the treaty of alliances recently concluded between these two potentates.

In southern Europe a contest had long subsisted between the republic of Genoa and the isle of Corsica; the oppressor and the oppressed. During the war of 1740, Genoa being an ally of France, England had repeatedly afforded aid to these brave islanders, but had neglected to make any mention of them in the treaty of Aix la Chapelle: they however had continued to defend their liberties with invincible courage and resolution. During the administration of lord Bute, they applied to the British nation, where they were deservedly popular, for assistance; but were basely answered by a proclamation which denounced them as rebels, and strictly forbade the subjects of Great Britain to afford them the slightest aid.

[17] Under this term were included protestants, members of the Greek communion, and all who dissented from the church of Rome.

After various successes, however, the Corsicans, under the celebrated Paoli, gained a superiority over their oppressors, which opened to them a prospect of throwing off the yoke; then it was that the Genoese senate formally requested assistance from the court of France, as an ally of the republic: this application was very favorably received; for how seldom did his most christian majesty refuse to shed blood in the cause of despotism! A convention was signed at Compiegne, by which the French king guaranteed the island to Genoa, promising to send a naval and military force to assist in its reduction: but the Corsicans, though justly alarmed for the event, determined with inflexible resolution to defend their liberties against the insupportable oppression of Genoese tyranny. General Paoli was commissioned to remonstrate, in the most respectful terms, with the French king, against the act of injustice he was committing, when the Corsicans were on the very point of driving their enemies out of the island: but anticipating the futility of their appeal to so vile a monarch as Louis XV., his countrymen charged him also to solicit protection at the different courts of Europe, especially those of London and Vienna; and at all events to implore their mediation. Every such application however was received with coldness or contempt; and French troops, under the marquis de Marbœuf, arriving in the latter part of the year, took possession of those fortresses which still remained in the hands of the Genoese. It is not necessary to describe the desultory, but vindictive and bloody contest which ensued; but it becomes us to note the severe though late examples of retributive justice in this case of national oppression. From Corsica went out that extraordinary man who ruled France with a rod of iron, making torrents of her blood to flow in the advancement of his ambitious projects; while Genoa, after having been long subject to French domination, and lost every vestige of her ancient glory, was delivered up by the British minister, lord Castlereagh, to the bigoted despot who then occupied the Sardinian throne.

In this year the society of jesuits was completely suppressed in France; but their expiring influence had been exerted with double force on the eve of its extinction. Actuated by the deepest sentiments of revenge, they secretly arraigned the measures of a corrupt court and vicious administration; exciting the people to bitter complaints, under the weight of taxes, the extortion of farmers-general, and the capricious influence of royal mistresses: one of these, the celebrated Pompadour, died

about this time, after having irritated all classes by her inordinate pride, insulted the laws by patronising miscreants of every description, and contributed by her extravagance to render the embarrassed state of the finances irretrievable.

Some events also occurred which threatened to disturb the tranquillity of our relations with France and Spain. A French force, in a ship of the line with three smaller vessels, suddenly appeared before Tortuga, a small island in the West Indies, valuable only for the salt which it produces; and having carried off the English inhabitants prisoners to Cape François took intire possession of the place. The report of this unjustifiable violence caused a considerable sensation in England; but the court of Versailles, in reply to a spirited remonstrance made by the British ambassador, explicitly disavowed its sanction to any part of the proceeding, and at the same time promised an ample indemnification; the terms of which were to be adjusted by the governors of Jamaica and St. Domingo. Beside this proof of sincerity in desiring to preserve the peace, France had lately given another, in a proposal submitted to the British government, for discharging a balance due for the subsistence of French prisoners during the late war. The offer made was £670,000 for an acquittal of the whole demand; £130,000 to be paid immediately, and the rest at the rate of £40,000 each quarter.

Such conduct appeared the more honorable, when contrasted with that of Spain, whose government refused to pay the ransom settled at the capitulation of Manilla. The principal arguments used to evade its engagements were, that the signatures to that capitulation were extorted by violence; the English themselves breaking it, when they permitted the city to be pillaged: these allegations, however, were refuted in a memorial addressed to lord Halifax by sir William Draper; and the sophistry of the Spanish government was completely exposed[18]. But still more outrageous conduct was exhibited by the commodore of some Spanish xebeques cruising against the Algerines, who attacked and captured an English vessel, which had hoisted its colors, after reducing it almost to a wreck, and wounding many of the crew; amongst whom was a passenger, who lost his arm. In another part of the globe also complaints were exhibited against the Spanish power; for not only had logwood cutters in the bay of Honduras been disturbed by order of the governor; but they were ordered to

[18] See Annual Register for 1764, p. 138.

remove from their places of settlement, under pretence that they were unable to prove themselves British subjects. In the two latter instances however full satisfaction was promised by the court of Madrid to all parties aggrieved: the affair of the Manilla ransom remained unsettled; one of the few instances of reproach which could then be cast on Spanish honor, and a fertile source of future attacks on the pusillanimity of the British government.

CHAPTER VII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1765.

King's speech—Notice of his sister's marriage—Questions in parliament relating to general warrants, and the attorney-general's powers—Discussion respecting the taxation of the American provinces—The Americans deny the principle and right—Opinions out of the house—Bill to purchase the regalities of the isle of Man—Causes in operation to weaken the administration—Distress of commercial men and laborers—Scarcity of provisions—Regency bill—Riots of the silk-weavers—Kind consideration of their majesties—Displeasure of the king against his cabinet—He applies to the duke of Cumberland to form a new administration—Conferences with lord Temple and Mr. Pitt—The attempt fails, and ministers propose the conditions of their continuance in office—These are accepted, but much dissatisfaction prevails on both sides—The king again makes overtures to lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, which fail—Formation of the Rockingham ministry—Its first acts—Death of its patron—Its influence diminished—Opposition in America made to the stamp duty—Acts of the presbyterian faction—Proceedings at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, on the arrival of the stamp act—Reasons for the conduct of the colonists—Proceedings in the assembly of Virginia, and in those of New England—Congress at New York—Its resolutions—Public irritation on the arrival of the stamps, and general proceedings of the colonists—Irritation in some of the West Indian islands—Conduct of the Rockingham ministry blamable—Obituary—Domestic events.

ON the tenth of January, when parliament re-assembled, the leading topics of the king's speech had reference to continental events; whence he concluded that the nation might expect a continuance of 'peace, which for his part he was resolved to maintain.' In allusion to America, and the scheme of taxing that country, he said, 'The experience I have had of your former conduct makes me rely on your wisdom and firmness, in promoting that obedience to the laws, and respect for the legislative authority of this kingdom, which is essentially necessary for the safety of the whole; and in establishing such regulations as may best connect and strengthen every part of my dominions, for their mutual benefit and support.' At this time also his majesty introduced to the notice of parliament a match concluded between the prince royal of Denmark and the

princess Caroline Matilda, the king's youngest sister; to be solemnized as soon as their respective ages would permit.[1]

Early this session the attempt was renewed, by some members of opposition in the commons, to procure a resolution against the legality of general warrants; but the decision of that point was eluded, and the previous question carried. Another motion to restrain the attorney-general in his power of filing informations *ex officio* was likewise negatived.

The highly important topic of colonial taxation was soon brought under discussion. It has been already mentioned, that the measure of laying a duty on stamps had been postponed, in order to give the colonists time to propose, in lieu of it, any other mode of taxation more convenient and agreeable to themselves: but it was the principle of taxation itself to which they objected; accordingly, their agents were instructed to reject every kind of compromise; and to oppose the bill, if brought into parliament, by petitions and remonstrances, questioning our legislative right to impose any direct tax on our colonies. In memorials transmitted from America, the claims of England were declared to be totally opposed to the spirit and letter of her own constitution; while great indignation was expressed at the argument used against the colonists, by which they were considered as virtually represented in parliament. 'The very essence,' they alleged, 'of representation consists in this; that the representative is placed in a situation analogous to that of his constituents, as far as relates to his being subject to every law and tax which he enacts for them: with regard to Great Britian, this is precisely the case; but in taxing America, these mock representatives relieve themselves by the imposts which they lay on others. Who does not see the irresistible tendency to abuses in such a system? and what security have they who are called constituents against its oppression?' In reply to the statement, that it was reasonable for America to contribute her proportion toward the general expenses of the empire, it was urged, 'that America had never been backward in obeying constitutional requisitions of the crown, and contributing liberally, in her own assemblies, toward the expenses of wars, in which, conjointly with England, she had been engaged: that in the course of the last memorable contest, her patriotism had been so conspicuous, that large sums had been repeatedly voted by parliament, as an indemnification to the

[1] The prince was born January 29, 1749, and the princess, July 22, 1751. The result of these unfortunate espousals will be noticed hereafter.

colonists for exertions allowed to be far beyond their means and resources;—exertions, which, notwithstanding all such indemnifications, left them with a debt of more than £2,500,000; a large portion of which was still unliquidated: that the proper compensation due to Great Britain was a monopoly of their trade; the direction and regulation of which was acknowleged to belong by right to the British legislature.'

The point however was not to be carried by arguments or representations: the minister had pledged himself too firmly and gone too far to recede: the memorials therefore which questioned the legislative rights of parliament were not allowed to be read in the house: a proposal indeed was made to hear the colonial agents at its bar against the tax; but this was rejected by them as derogatory to the honor of the colonies, who were determined on this occasion not to petition, but to protest. On the seventh of February, fifty-five resolutions of the committee of ways and means, relating to this branch of revenue, were agreed to by the commons, and afterwards incorporated into an act for laying nearly the same duty on stamps in the American colonies as were payable in Great Britain. The debates following the proposal of this bill were neither long nor animated. Its most eloquent supporter was Mr. Charles Townshend, in whom the minister had lately acquired a powerful auxiliary; and its principal opponents were the friends of the duke of Newcastle, among whom general Conway and Mr. Dowdeswell particularly distinguished themselves; it was also attacked by colonel Barré, in a vehement and indignant harangue, which he concluded with a prophetic denunciation: but there was only one division during its progress. In the house of lords it passed without debate, division, or protest; and received the royal assent by commission on the twenty-second of March.

Out of the house, the subject underwent a severer scrutiny and a more ample discussion: much was brought forward, on both sides, respecting the right of Great Britain to tax her transatlantic provinces; and the subjection of Roman colonists to their parent state was quoted as authority by one party, while the independence of Grecian emigrations was insisted on by the other. Wiser heads, however, laid aside the abstract question of right, and viewed the subject altogether as one of practical expediency. They knew that commercial advantages were the chief objects proposed in the planting of our colonies; and that every expectation on this head was realized in the

great and rapid accession of trade, caused by the increasing wants of those foreign settlements. In the old plan of profiting by their commerce, we acquired their wealth without murmur or dispute; and 'in this manner,' as sir Robert Walpole observed, 'we taxed them agreeably both to their own constitution and to ours.' It now remained to be seen, whether this system of tried advantage, or new schemes, doubtful in operation and certain of opposition, were most likely to advance the grand objects for which our colonies were established.

Ever attentive to his plans for improving the national revenue, Mr. Grenville determined to check the progress of illicit trade on our own coasts: for that purpose he recommended to his majesty the purchase of the regalities of the isle of Man, which place had become a notorious receptacle of smugglers. This small territory formed a domain of singular tenure, being part of the territories of the crown, but not of the realm; under allegiance to the king, but governed by its own laws and customs: his majesty had therein neither courts nor officers; and there was no instance of a prerogative writ having been sent thither and returned, as there was no officer to whom it could be addressed.

Before the second reading of the bill, which was intended to alienate the sovereignty of so remarkable an inheritance from the duke of Athol, in whose family it had been vested nearly four centuries, the noble inheritor and his consort presented a petition, stating their reluctance to separate such princely honors from the patrimony bequeathed by their ancestors: but throwing themselves, with dutiful submission, on the pleasure of their sovereign, and the disposal of parliament, they merely requested such compensation as the justice of the case might demand. They were also heard by council in support of their claims; and when it was determined that the island, with its jurisdictions, interests, and dependencies, should be revested in the crown, the sum of £70,000 was awarded to the petitioners: to whom also were reserved their landed property, and their rights in and over the soil as lords of the manor, together with the patronage of the bishopric, and other ecclesiastical benefices.

But though the approbation of parliament followed the measures of Mr. Grenville, and seemed to promise stability to his administration, several causes were at this time in action that tended to weaken and dissolve it. The threats of the Americans, which they were beginning to put into execution, of abstaining from the use of British goods, began to alarm our

ship-owners, merchants, and manufacturers, as well as many classes of artisans and laborers whom they employed; while the complaints of these latter were heightened by a scarcity of bread and the high price of provisions, which were ascribed, however unjustly, to the misconduct of ministers: but the popular discontents might have been disregarded or suppressed, had not Mr. Grenville given deep offence to a royal personage, against whose resentment at this time no minister could have stood. In the early part of the year his majesty had been attacked by a severe illness; and reflecting, after his recovery, on the long minority that must have ensued if his complaint had proved fatal, he consulted parliament on the expediency of vesting in him the power of appointing, from time to time, the queen, or any other member of his family usually residing in Great Britain, to be guardian of his heir and regent of the kingdom; subject however to the restrictions of a regency act passed in the reign of his predecessor. In consequence of this suggestion, a bill was introduced into the house of lords, framed according to the terms proposed: but in the commons a motion was made requiring the king to name those persons whom he would trust with so important a charge; since it appeared to be contrary, not only to precedent, but to the principles of our constitution, that any one should be appointed to it who had not been particularly specified and approved by parliament. This motion being negatived, a question was next raised about the construction of the words, 'any other of the royal family;' to which the answer given by ministers was, that they meant 'the descendants of George II.:' but as this interpretation would have excluded the princess dowager from all share in the public counsels, an amendment was moved at the next reading, to insert her name after that of the queen: and this was carried by a large majority; though not until the party feelings of the day, and the jealousy of her influence entertained by a portion of the cabinet, had become very apparent.[2]

[2] The following account of this affair, which soon led to a change of ministry, is given by Mr. Nicholls on such authority, that it would be unpardonable to omit it:—'About the beginning of the year 1765 the king fell ill; I know it has been said that his illness was a mental derangement; but I do not believe it. On his recovery, it occurred to Mr. Grenville and the other ministers, that if the king had died, there would have been considerable difficulty in appointing a regent; and as the prince of Wales was then only two years and a half old, a regency, and for a long continuance, would have been necessary; they therefore determined

On the fifteenth of May, when the king went in person to give assent to this bill, a large mob of silk-weavers, reinforced by various trades immediately depending on that branch, conceiving themselves injured by the general use of foreign silks, assembled with their wives and children, to the amount of

to bring into parliament a bill, enabling the king to appoint a regent by his will: but Mr. Grenville did not choose that the princess dowager of Wales should be the regent; and he probably thought that the princess dowager would be the person whom the king would be most disposed to select; for during the princess dowager's life, the queen does not appear to have had much influence over the king; he therefore suggested to the king, that his power of appointment must be confined to the queen and the descendants of George II. The king resisted this, as he saw that by such a limitation he should be precluded from nominating the princess dowager; Mr. Grenville persevered; telling the king, that he could not undertake to carry the bill through the house of commons, except his majesty's power were thus limited. The king at length yielded; and as the bill was already in the house of lords, he consented that the earl of Halifax, secretary of state, should be sent down to the house with a message to the earl of Northington, at that time chancellor, signifying that it was the king's pleasure that his power of appointment should be confined to the queen and the descendants of George II. I have been told, and from good authority, that the earl of Northington replied,—'Your lordship astonishes me; I should not have given credit to such a message if it had not been brought to me by one of his majesty's secretaries of state.' But the bill was framed agreeably to this message, and sent down in that shape to the house of commons. After the bill had thus passed the lords, the earl of Northington waited on the king to inform him what had been done; adding, that in obedience to the message which he had received through the earl of Halifax, his majesty would not have the power of appointing the princess dowager of Wales. The king replied, 'Mr. Grenville tells me that if my power of appointment had been extended to the princess dowager, he could not have undertaken to carry the bill through the house of commons.'—'Would your majesty have wished to have had the power of appointing the princess dowager?'—'Most certainly, provided the introduction of such a power would not have provoked a debate painful to the princess dowager herself.' The earl of Northington said no more; but on his retirement from the king's closet, sent for Mr. John Morton, member for Abingdon, to whom he gave these instructions:—'When the bill in your house is in a committee, jump up, and move to insert the name of the princess dowager of Wales, and in the mean time keep the design to yourself.' Mr. Morton followed the earl of Northington's directions. The opposition not expecting such an amendment, was not prepared to oppose it: it would have been indecent in the minister to have opposed it, and the amendment was adopted without one dissenting voice. Mr. Morton was an intimate friend of my father, and related this anecdote to him.'

many thousands, and marched with black flags and beat of drum to St. James's palace: thence they proceeded to the houses of parliament, obstructing all communication between them, insulting many of the members, and creating serious apprehensions for the public tranquillity: these tumultuous proceedings were repeated on the two following days; the mansion of a nobleman suspected of favoring French goods was beset, and the windows of many shops which sold them were broken; but at length the tumult was repressed by the civil power, with military aid; and some of the most guilty were brought to punishment: after this a subscription was opened for the relief of the more necessitous; and the principal silk mercers agreed to recall the orders which they had given for foreign articles; though it was well known that the cause of this distress was chiefly owing to a want of the usual call for the work of their looms in the British colonies.

In the beginning of this year absurd petitions had been presented to his majesty by deputations from other trades,[3] complaining of great distress, and accusing foreigners of engrossing the profits of their business: these, being unaccompanied with violence, were graciously received by the king, who declared in his answer, 'that he had nothing dearer to his heart than the happiness of his people; and that they might be assured he would at all times use his endeavors to promote their welfare:' to prove the sincerity of this declaration, both he and the queen exerted all their influence in opposing that preference which was given to foreign manufactures over our own among the nobility and gentry. Her majesty by precept and example excited the ladies to wear home-made silks; and the king not only caused his birthday to be celebrated with more than usual magnificence, but announced his expectation, that all who attended the court should appear in clothes of British manufacture.

The disgust which his majesty felt against the present administration, on account of the affront offered to his mother, as well as their parsimony[4] and tyrannical disposition towards

[3] From the hair-dressers and hatters.

[4] So frugal was Mr. Geo. Grenville of the public money, that he morosely refused the king's request that a few thousand pounds might be expended in buying some open fields to the west of the gardens of Buckingham-house: in consequence they were soon covered with buildings, and their majesties were overlooked in their most private walks by a hundred houses. But this was not the worst—Grenville was as liberal of words as he was sparing with guineas. Instead of explaining himself in that clear concise manner, which

himself, was heightened by the refractory disposition of the duke of Bedford, who not only interfered with the just rights of the crown in the exercise of patronage; but, during some conferences which the sovereign held with his ministers, respecting their continuance in office, is said to have used very strong language respecting that system of duplicity and indirect influence from secret advisers, by which the nominal cabinet thought themselves aggrieved: as the rest of the members adhered to their president, it was resolved to dismiss them.

In consequence of this determination, his majesty applied to his uncle, the duke of Cumberland, for assistance; who instantly sought a conference with lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, in which he mentioned the earl of Northumberland as a proper leader for a new administration: this proposal, however, was unacceptable to lord Temple, whom nothing would content except a ministry composed of his own friends, and thus rendered inaccessible to any secret influence which might obstruct his measures for the public welfare: whatever Mr. Pitt's thoughts may have been, his expressions seemed more reasonable; but in a second conference, when he was requested to name the conditions on which he would accept office, his reply is said to have been, 'that he was ready to go to St. James's provided he might carry with him the constitution.' In fact, a total change of men, measures, and counsels was demanded on one side; but, on the other, it was considered indispensable that 'the king's friends,' as they were called, should continue in their official situations. The premiership was next offered to lord Lyttleton; who, before he gave in his answer, desired to confer with lord Temple and Mr. Pitt; but the duke, feeling convinced that no advantageous result could proceed from negotiations in that quarter, retraced his proposal, and advised his majesty to retain his present ministers.

In consequence of this recommendation, they were requested to name the conditions of their continuance in office; and at a meeting of the principal members of the cabinet, Mr. Gren-

alone could win the attention of a young mind new to business, he spoke in the closet just as he spoke in the house of commons: when he had harangued two hours, he looked at his watch, as he used to look at the clock opposite the speaker's chair, apologized for the length of his discourse, and then went on for an hour more. The members of the house could, when weary, cough him down: but the poor young king had to endure all his eloquence with mournful civility. To the end of his life he continued to talk with horror of Grenville's orations.—See Edinburgh Review, No. 162, p. 534.

ville was commissioned to wait on his majesty with the following terms:—1. that lord Bute should not interfere directly or indirectly in the affairs of government: 2. that Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, lord Bute's brother, should be dismissed from his office of keeper of the privy seal in Scotland: 3. that lord Holland should be deprived of the paymastership of the forces, which might then be given to a member of the house of commons: 4. that the Marquis of Granby should be placed at the head of the army: and 5. that the government of Ireland should be left to the discretional arrangement of ministers.[5]

These were hard terms for the king, who now found himself in the same predicament as that in which his grandfather had been placed by the duke of Newcastle; but his chagrin was considerably augmented, by knowing that he was brought into it by the very instruments he had selected to keep him clear of such an inconvenience: the difficulties however which had already obstructed the formation of a new cabinet rendered a partial compliance necessary. Mr. Mackenzie, much against his majesty's inclination, was dismissed from his office; Charles Townshend was made paymaster of the forces; and lord Weymouth appointed to govern Ireland: but so much dissatisfaction remained on both sides, that the truce was necessarily hollow, and the arrangement could not long subsist; accordingly, the king himself very soon requested to see Mr. Pitt at Buckingham-house: in consequence, he and lord Temple had a joint interview with his majesty, who condescended to lay before them certain propositions for their acceptance: Mr. Pitt at first appeared inclined to receive them favorably; but lord Temple was still intractable, and found means to draw his friend over to his opinion. Under these circumstances the poor young king was obliged to look earnestly toward those old whig connexions, once the object of his dread and hatred, to rescue him from the dictation and tyranny of insolent subjects: this party however was considerably changed, death and desertion having much thinned its ranks; and if its present members had less experience in business and debate, they were purer from the taint of that political immorality which had deeply infected their predecessors: in this respect adversity had produced its salutary effects; for the purification of the whig party commenced when its ascendency terminated. Recourse was again had to the duke of Cumberland; who finally made overtures to the whigs, with whom he had

[5] From private information given to Mr. Adolphus, the sources of which are in general very correct: vol. i. p. 170.

retained an honorable connexion, and of whom the marquis of Rockingham, a nobleman of upright principles and amiable character, was the acknowledged leader. He was now placed at the head of the treasury; the duke of Grafton and general Conway were appointed secretaries of state, the management of the house of commons being committed to the latter: Mr. Dowdeswell was made chancellor of the exchequer; and the duke of Newcastle, whose age and eccentricities unfitted him for any active employment, was gratified by the honorable office of privy seal: lord Weymouth, who had been lately appointed to the government of Ireland, was superseded by general Conway's brother, the earl of Hertford; and the president's chair, vacated by the duke of Bedford, was given to lord Winchelsea; but the earl of Northington kept his place on the woolsack. These were the chief alterations; though every department of the state experienced, more or less, the effects of change: but it must not be forgotten, that at this period the celebrated Edmund Burke rose like a bright star on the political horizon. He was engaged as private secretary by lord Rockingham, who gladly availed himself of the services of a man already distinguished for high literary excellence and official capacity: indeed, 'the British dominions,' as an eminent writer of the time observes, 'could scarcely have furnished a more able and fit person for that important and confidential situation; the only man since the days of Cicero who has united the talents of speaking and writing with irresistible force and energy:' but if we take into account the political wisdom, the various knowlege, and above all, the deep comprehensive philosophy which distinguished this extraordinary person, where shall we find his parallel?

The character of the duke of Cumberland, founded on his frank disposition and undoubted patriotism, promised a success to the new ministry, which one of its first acts, that of raising the popular chief justice of the common pleas to the peerage, was calculated to promote: but it soon received a severe shock in the death of the prince its patron; who expired suddenly on the thirty-first of October, regretted not more by the administration than by the people at large, among whom he had obtained a high degree of popularity. The blow was more severely felt, because there was from the first a want of union in this cabinet: nor was its leader, though a man who commanded universal respect by his known integrity, capable of collecting the scattered energies of a party, and bringing them into order. Relying too much on personal rank for official

dignity, and for public confidence on hereditary prejudices, for which there was no longer room in the new system now springing up, he soon found himself in the rear of public opinion: his ministerial capacities were subjected to very disadvantageous comparisons; and the city of London, as well as some other large corporate bodies, began to clamor against the long detention of Mr. Pitt from office: besides, while the present ministers found no favor at court, because they held some principles at variance with those of *the king's friends*, the public thought that they had in some degree compromised their character, by consenting to act under the influence of that secret cabinet, which was the object of so much invective.[6]

If we suppose the introduction of stamp duties into the American colonies to have been a measure both expedient and just, still the late minister committed a great fault, in deferring it so long after his intentions had been made known; for in that period full scope was given to faction for making arrangements to oppose the law. The first party which distinguished itself by a refractory disposition was that of the presbyterians, who availed themselves of the rising discontents to execute their long-contemplated plan of forming a general synod. In consequence of a circular letter addressed to the southern provinces from Philadelphia, an annual assembly was established in that

[6] In order to show that these suspicions were incorrect, the following account is given in a work of considerable merit:—'That the king's firmness and good sense saved him from such degradation, is clear from an anecdote, recorded on good authority, of a check which the youthful monarch gave to a palpable attempt on the part of the ex-minister to obtrude on his confidence. It states that the princess dowager of Wales was anxious for lord Bute's return to office, a wish in which that nobleman joined: in consequence, a plan was laid to take the king by surprise; so that lord Bute should, as if by chance, obtain permission to see the first despatches received by his majesty while at Carlton-house; it being frequently the custom for the secretary of state to transmit them at those periods. No sooner did the green box, with letters and papers, make its appearance, than the king, as usual, rose up to retire into another apartment in order to peruse them in retirement; but lord Bute officiously took up two candles, and preceded the sovereign, as if going to his closet, in the hope that the king would desire him to remain in the room, and acquaint him with the contents; by which means he might slide into political business without any formality. But the young monarch was on his guard; and, stopping at the door of the apartment, took the candles himself, bowed dismissal to the candidate, and shut the door;—a hint fully understood, and considered as a final rejection.'—George III. his Court and Family, vol. i. p. 289.

city, where the different congregations were represented by their respective ministers and elders, and where the general affairs of religion and policy were discussed and decided. Soon afterwards, the discontented in New England recommended a union of the congregational and presbyterian interests throughout the colonies: a negotiation took place; and a permanent committee was appointed at Philadelphia, with powers to unite and consult, on all occasions, with a similar committee of the congregational churches in New England: thus the presbyterians of the south, who, when separate, were peaceable and harmless citizens, became, by their connexion with the fierce spirits of the north, adverse and dangerous to the general policy of church and state.

By this union a multitude were prepared to display their power of resistance: but not relying solely on their own strength, they were unceasing in their endeavors to make converts among all sets of men where discontent prevailed: nor were their efforts unattended with success. To this party the stamp law presented itself as a convenient object against which they might direct their hostilities; and the ill-humor which pervaded all ranks tended to promote their designs. As soon as the act arrived at Boston, vehement commotions arose; the ships in harbor hoisted their colors half-mast high, and the bells were rung muffled: at New York the statute itself was reprinted with the mark of a death's head, and cried about the streets, under the title of "England's Folly and America's Ruin;' while at Philadelphia, the guns in the fortifications and barracks were spiked by offenders who remained undiscovered. The flame of discontent now spread rapidly over the provinces, and every where the bitterest sarcasms and reproaches were levelled at the act and its advisers.

In accounting for these proceedings, it may be observed, that the higher classes had for some time been led to believe that the commercial prosperity of England mainly depended on her American colonies; and they assumed a tone corresponding with this idea: emigrations unexampled in extent had taught them to calculate on a vast accession to their population: and this was likely to be augmented by desertions from the British army, for which the provincials had so many inducements to offer. While these considerations were calculated to inspire them with a desire of independence, a strong motive for submission was taken away, in the cession of Canada and the Floridas, which removed a powerful enemy from their frontiers, and rendered English assistance less necessary for their defence:

besides, the violence of factions in Great Britain itself, and the tone in which the cause of America was taken up by men of high rank and talent, added combustibles to the flame which was breaking out in that country.

It happened too that many of the governors and other public functionaries had been raised to their stations, not so much by merit, as by private favor and parliamentary interest: in general therefore they were found unequal to the trying circumstances in which they suddenly found themselves: the provincial assemblies declined to give them advice, or to strengthen their hands by any legislative authority;[7] openly avowing hostility against the act, and establishing committees of correspondence among themselves to oppose it.

The assembly of Virginia, which heretofore had been pre-eminent in loyality, was now the first to set an example of disobedience: although the law was not to become operative before the first of November, the subject was immediately introduced into their debates, if a series of violent harangues and denunciations can be so denominated: the tone of these corresponded to the sentiments expressed by a member of the lower house, named Patrick Henry, in a resolution, which he brought forward against the stamp act. 'Cæsar,' said he, at the conclusion of his speech, 'had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III.,—at this point the speaker interrupted him by the exclamation of 'treason!' which was echoed back by a party in the house: Henry for a moment faltered; but quickly recovering his self-possession, while his eyes flashed with a spirit of defiance, he continued—'may profit by that example: if this be treason, make the most of it.' When tranquillity was restored, the house proceeded to frame a set of resolutions declaratory of their own rights, particularly the exclusive one of taxing themselves in their own representative assemblies; and boldly asserting that every attempt to vest it in any other power tended to destroy independence both in England and in America. The governor, being informed of these proceedings, immediately dissolved the assembly; but it

[7] When governor Bernard dissolved the legislative assembly at Boston this year, he complained much of the injustice that had been done to him as an individual. 'What,' he asked, 'have I done to deserve this?' He told them, 'it was his misfortune to be governor of the province at a time when parliament had thought proper to tax the colonies; and this imposed on him a necessary duty. This was his offence; but really it was the offence of his office; and against that, and not against his person, should the public resentment be directed.'

was too late; its resolutions sanctioned opposition throughout Virginia, and formed a precedent for other colonies. Those of New England disdained to appeal to charters, or to consider themselves in the light of British subjects; but determined to resist the authority of the mother country in all matters of legislation, and resolutely to assert their rights as independent men. At the suggestion of the house of representatives in Boston, most of the provincial assemblies appointed deputies to a general congress at New York,[8] which met on the seventh of October, and after several days of debate drew up fourteen resolutions on the principles adopted by Virginia, with a petition to the king, another to the house of commons, and a memorial to the house of lords; in which, among other things they professed allegiance to the crown, and a due subordination to the two houses; but denied the authority of a British parliament to tax those who were not represented in it: their representatives were the colonial legislatures, by which alone taxes had been, or could be, constitutionally imposed: as for the duties now resisted, these were declared to be grievous exactions, and the payment impracticable, as the profits of their commerce centred in Great Britain; so that in fact they already contributed largely to its supplies; but the effect of these parliamentary measures would be to prevent them from purchasing British manufactures, and thus destroy that mutual intercourse which was found so beneficial to both countries.

By this congress, which excited little alarm from the decorous manner adopted in its proceedings, a very important point was gained to the Americans; for a closer connexion was thus established among the leading men of the different provinces, and a way prepared for a still more extensive combination, if circumstances should render it necessary or expedient.

In the mean time great exertions were made to increase the public irritation; and many persons of the higher classes gradually mixed with the populace, stimulating them to acts of violence; so that when the distributors of stamps arrived from England, some were forced publicly to renounce, on oath, all concern with them; and others thought it their best policy

[8] The colonies not represented at the congress were, New Hampshire, Virginia, north Carolina, and Georgia: the last three, because the letters arrived during the recess of their assemblies, which were not permitted to meet till after the first of October. The assembly of New Hampshire, though it approved the plan, and promised to sign any petition agreed on by the other provinces, did not think fit to appoint deputies.—Stedman, vol. i. p. 39.

to return without delay: the agents of the law generally resolved to forego the practice of their profession rather than make use of stamps; and ships bringing stamped mercantile or custom-house papers, were obliged to part with them, to be stuck up in derision, and then publicly committed to the flames.

By the first of November, when the act came into operation, not a sheet of stamped paper was to be procured in the colonies; so that all business, which could not be legally carried on without it, was at once brought to a stand; the courts of justice were closed, and the ports shut up. When the consequences of this stagnation began to press severely on the people, many arts of elusion were employed; and the governors of some provinces, though bound by the act, under heavy penalties, to see it observed, considered the total stoppage of public business so injurious, as to render lawful their non-compliance with such injunctions; and grounding the dispensations which they allowed to themselves on the absolute impossibility of procuring stamps, they granted certificates of that impossibility to outward-bound vessels, which might protect them from penalties in other parts of his majesty's dominions.

But the colonial proceedings most sensibly felt in England remain to be described. The merchants of all those provinces which ventured openly to oppose the act, entered into solemn engagements with each other, not to order goods from England, whatever might be the consequences; and to recall the orders which they had already given, if not obeyed by the first of January, 1766; also not to dispose of any British goods sent to them on commission, which had not been shipped before that time; and if they consented to any relaxation of these engagements, it was not to take place till the stamp act, and even the sugar and paper money acts, were repealed: other resolutions of a similar tendency were also passed.

In the mean time they omitted no methods to render the importation of manufactures unnecessary. A society for the promotion of arts and commerce was instituted at New York, and markets were opened for the sale of home-made goods; whence it appeared that neither the natives, nor the artisans whom they had invited over from Great Britain by large bounties, had been idle: linens, woollens, paper hangings, coarse kinds of iron ware, and many other such articles, were approved by the society, and, when brought to market, eagerly bought up: besides, lest the new woollen manufac-

tories should fail from want of materials, many persons entered into a resolution to forbear eating lamb; people of the highest fashion set an example of wearing home-spun or old clothes, instead of purchasing those made in Great Britain, of which they used to be absurdly fond: and these measures being generally adopted, taught the colonists, what till very lately had been thought impossible, that they would soon be able to supply themselves with the necessaries of life. It might be imagined that they could hardly go to greater lengths against the mother country, avoiding direct hostilities; but resolutions began to be circulated of stopping exports as well as imports, and preventing the tobacco of Virginia and South Carolina from finding its way to British markets;—a measure which, from the quantity of that article exported again from Great Britain, and the large sums raised by her own consumption of it, would materially affect her trade and revenue.

Such were the plans adopted by the greatest and most important provinces of New England, New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Maryland, in consequence of the stamp act: the others, probably from a sense of weakness rather than of duty, submitted to it, though not all with equal grace. The West Indian plantations received it, as their insular condition demanded, the islands of St. Christopher and Nevis alone excepted: the populace of the former not only burning all the stamps in their own country, and obliging the distributors to renounce their office, but going over to promote in Nevis the same violent proceedings.

If the members of the Rockingham administration were conscious that injustice was committed against the colonies, or were convinced that the emancipation of America could not long be deferred, they did not meet the crisis with honor or with prudence: if they concurred in the measures of their predecessors, or felt persuaded that Great Britain had it in her power to retain those colonies in dependence, their conduct was still culpable in tolerating the proceedings above described. It may indeed be alleged, that they were embarrassed with the difficulties of their situation, arising from the king's determination to vindicate the supposed rights of his crown, and from the clamors of the mercantile classes, whose increasing distress was attributed to the stagnation of American trade. This however is no sufficient excuse: they should not have accepted or retained office under circumstances, which hindered them from making an immediate and dignified concession, or an equally quick and determined resistance.

The Virginian resolutions being laid before the board of trade, were declared to be a dangerous attack on the British constitution; and an opinion was given that orders should be immediately sent out to enforce the stamp act, and exact obedience to the laws: but the council did not meet till some time after this recommendation, as if they supposed that the progress of events would wait their leisure, or that the affairs of America were not more important than those of an English parish: general Conway indeed wrote a letter to the governor of Virginia, expressing hopes that another assembly would rescind the offensive resolutions, and advising him to make an appeal to the more wise and prudent among the people; but as the matter was before the privy council, he declined giving him farther instructions. When the council met, its members seemed to be infected with a spirit of timidity and irresolution; declining all vigorous measures, and recommending his majesty to ask the advice of parliament in a matter of such importance: but although this was in the month of October, parliament was not called together till the seventeenth of December; and then it separated for the Christmas recess, after issuing some writs to fill up vacant seats; nor were any other means adopted for appeasing the storm now rising in our transatlantic dominions, except the transmission of a circular letter from general Conway to the American governors, in terms somewhat more decisive than the former, but still not sufficiently clear and energetic.

During the recess of parliament, the following appears to have been the result of ministerial deliberations. 'A meeting was held at the house of the marquis of Rockingham for the purpose of arranging measures against the opening of the session, and particularly with respect to the late transactions in America. Among those present were the marquis himself, lord Egmont, general Conway, Mr. Dowdeswell, the earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. Yorke. The most effective and dignified advice then given was, to declare by an act of parliament the legislative power of great Britain over America, and to inflict penalties of high treason on those who should impeach that authority by speaking or writing; the supremacy of the parent country being thus determined, it was recommended to bring in a bill to explain, alter, and amend the stamp act, so as to render its operation easy, and its provisions unexceptionable. The principal alterations proposed were, that duties should be paid in currency instead of sterling money; offences against the act tried in courts of record, instead of the court of vice-admiralty; and the merchants relieved, by our taking off, or

greatly reducing, stamps on cockets and clearances: but this firm and manly advice did not prevail; opinions previously delivered by some members of administration were incompatible with such measures; and although Mr. Dowdeswell, chancellor of the exchequer, produced letters from New York, intimating that the money collected from the duty on molasses had been detained in the colony by threats and orders of the mob, no vigorous measure was resolved on: in fact, nothing was decided, except the terms in which the king's speech should be comprised; and the ministry formed no regular or consistent plan of operation and mutual support.'[9]

On the 21st of August, the queen was delivered of a third son, who afterwards succeeded to the throne as William IV.; and in December the prince of Wales was invested with the garter, at the early age of three years: two days after this ceremony, his majesty's youngest brother, prince Frederic, died in his sixteenth year; and a few days previously, France lost her dauphin, father of the unfortunate Louis XVI.: in the same month also died at Rome, the old Pretender, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, having seen, since his birth, six monarchs successively on that throne which his bigoted father lost for a mass: he left two sons; the celebrated Charles Edward, and Henry, a Romish priest, who had been raised to the dignity of the purple, in 1747, by the title of cardinal York.

In July, the new pavement from Charing-cross to Temple-bar was finished, and the communication for carriages re-opened: the improvements made through this alteration, by the taking down of signs, and by the fixing up of lights in a regular manner, added to those in St. James's-street which preceded them, called forth the admiration of that age as largely as our own has been excited by the remodelling of nearly half the metropolis on a scale of magnitude and grandeur unexampled in modern times.

On the 16th of April, lord Byron was tried by his peers in Westminster-hall for killing Mr. Chaworth in a duel, and found guilty of manslaughter: but as peers are, in all cases where benefit of clergy is allowed, to be dismissed without burning in the hand, loss of inheritance, or corruption of blood, his lordship was immediately liberated on paying his fees.

Some opinion of the temper exhibited by the populace against what was called the court party, may be formed from

[9] From Mr. Adolphus's private information, vol. i. p. 186.

the following circumstances. Mr. John Williams, bookseller, who had been adjudged by the court of king's bench to fine, imprisonement, and the pillory, for republishing the North Briton, underwent the last part of his sentence in New Palace-yard, on the fourteenth of February. A few minutes after twelve he mounted the scaffold, amid the repeated acclamations of more than 10,000 persons, who never ceased shouting till his hour was expired. Opposite to the pillory were erected four ladders, with cords running from one to another, on which were hung a jack-boot, an axe, and a bonnet, to the last of which was attached a label inscribed 'Scotch bonnet:' both boot and bonnet were committed to the flames, after the tops of the former had been chopped off: in the mean time, a gentleman with a purple purse, ornamented with orange ribbons, began a collection in favor of Mr. Williams, by putting in a guinea; and then carrying it round, gave an opportunity to every one of contributing according to his inclination; by which means he procured upwards of £200; one gentleman putting in fifty. Mr. Williams, when going into the pillory and getting out, bowed to the spectators; holding a sprig of laurel in his hand during the time of his exposure: the same coach that brought him, carried him back; and the owner refused to take any money for its hire.[10]

[10] See Annual Register, 1765, p. 65.

CHAPTER VIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1766.

Gloomy aspect of affairs at the opening of the session of parliament—King's speech—Petitions against the stamp duty—Debates on the address, which turns on American politics—Views of different parties regarding the right and expediency of taxing the colonies—Conference between ministers and Franklin—Opinions of the latter respecting the restoration of harmony between England and America—Repeal of the stamp act preceded by a declaratory bill, upholding the right of the British legislature to tax its colonies—Act of indemnity—Popular measures carried by the ministry regarding foreign trade and redress of domestic grievances—Question of general warrants—Tottering state of the cabinet, and reasons of it—Duke of Grafton resigns office—Sentiments of the Americans on the repeal of the stamp act—Those of Washington—Spirit of dissatisfaction still exhibited in the colonies, particularly those of New England—Disputes of the assembly at Boston with governor Bernard respecting the election of members of council—Compensation to the sufferers in the late riots—Provisions of the mutiny act—Same spirit shown at New York and other places—Intrigues of lord Northington—Negotiations with Mr. Pitt and lord Temple—Quarrel of these two statesmen.—Mr. Pitt, after several attempts, forms an administration—Distribution of the cabinet offices—Decline of lord Chatham's popularity and influence—Writings of Burke regarding the present changes—Ineffectual attempt of lord Chatham to establish a grand northern confederacy—Accurate information obtained by the king of Prussia regarding our administration—Alarming scarcity of provisions—Tumults in the country—Measures taken to remedy the evil—Embargo laid on vessels laden with wheat by royal authority—Altercation on this subject in Parliament—Dispensing power of the crown vindicated by lords Chatham and Camden—Opposed by lord Mansfield and others—Act of indemnity passed—Signs of the cabinet's breaking up—Attempts of lord Chatham to support it—His bad state of health—Affairs of the East India proprietors—Interference of parliament in their concerns—Birth of the princess-royal—Marriage of the princess Caroline Matilda—Transactions in different states of Europe.

WHEN ministers opened the session of parliament on the fourteenth of January, the aspect of affairs at home and abroad was very gloomy. In England provisions were extremely dear; thousands were out of employment; trade and commerce lan-

guished; and they who depended on them were incensed at those restrictions which had caused, and were still increasing, the evil. The country gentleman eagerly desired a productive revenue, which might fill the exchequer, and relieve them from the burdens of the late war; but the colonists vehemently opposed the scheme of extracting such a revenue from their pockets. In America scenes of anarchy and confusion were already begun; for the passions of the people were let loose by a relaxation of the laws, and profligate men assumed the name of patriots in order to commit those excesses to which they are always prone. Though resentment sustained the spirit of the colonists; yet a people almost in a state of social infancy, the resources of whose immense territories were scarcely known, could not but feel very sensibly a stagnation of trade, and the consequent privation of comforts with which they had been liberally supplied by the industry of the parent state.

Under such circumstances, the king's speech, as was naturally to be expected, pointed out America to parliament as the principal object of deliberation. He lamented the disorders which had broken out in that country; but expressed a hope that the judgment and moderation of both houses would conciliate the colonists, without compromising the rights of the British legislature. At the same time, petitions from many great trading and manufacturing towns, setting forth the present ruin of large classes, with the prospective derangement of our national finances, seemed to declare that a period was now arrived when some determined measures must be taken: indeed so dismal were the accounts received from Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, and other places, where nearly half the artizans were turned adrift, that the Exchange of London was in dismay; and the horrors of civil war were contemplated, together with a simultaneous attack upon this country by the united forces of its bitter enemies, France and Spain, still smarting under their recent wounds. Petitions also were received from the colonies of Virginia and Georgia, through their agents, declaring their utter inability to pay the stamp duty: one also from Jamaica set forth the bad effects of such a tax, which had been laid on that island by its own assembly; and suggested the probability of similar inconveniences arising from the measure, if persisted in, with regard to our continental colonies.

In the debate which followed the king's speech, his majesty's recommendation was duly attended to, and the affairs of

America were discussed at large. The partizans of the last adminstration were unmoved by petitions, which they affected to consider as the result of ministerial artifice: even granting them genuine, they argued that it was better to submit to a temporary inconvenience than free the colonies from their dependency on the mother country; which would infallibly be the consequence of repealing the stamp act: much as the country needed pecuniary assistance, they still contended that the right of taxation was of greater value than the produce of the tax. A less numerous but more eloquent party, with Mr. Pitt at its head, not only recommended a repeal, but utterly disclaimed the right of Great Britain to impose direct taxes on her unrepresented colonists. Ministers themselves generally were inclined to take a middle course, by repealing the act, but accompanying its repeal with a declaration of right; they accordingly made their stand on the inexpediency of the measure, as one totally unsuited to the present circumstances of Britain and America.

The debate was opened in the house of commons by Mr. Nugent, who strongly condemned the opposition made by the colonists to what he considered a reasonable and easy tax: still he would agree to abandon it, provided they would solicit the repeal as a favor, and acknowledge the right of the British legislature to impose it: with him 'a pepper-corn, as the acknowlegement of a right, was of more value than millions without that concession.' Mr. Burke, who had early turned his attention to the colonial question, seized this opportunity of taking a part in the discussion, and showed the value of his accession to his party: but little more is known of this first display of his parliamentary oratory, than that he astonished the house by the force and fancy of his eloquence, and that he was highly complimented on the occasion by Mr. Pitt, who immediately followed him: 'the young member,' said that statesman, 'has proved a very able advocate: I had myself intended to enter at length into details; but have been anticipated with so much ingenuity and eloquence, that there is little left for me to say: I congratulate him on his success, and his friends on the value of the acquisition they have made.' To the new ministry Mr. Pitt was not so liberal of his applause; being at once mortified by the rejection of his own services, and jealous of a cabinet which he had not the merit of arranging. While he strongly condemned those daring measures adopted by the late administration, he blamed the indecision and tardy efforts of their successors: against their character

indeed, as men, he had nothing to allege: but still he saw reasons for denying to them his confidence. 'Pardon me, gentlemen,' said he, bowing to the treasury bench; 'but confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom; youth is the season of credulity: by comparing events with each other, and reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover traces of an overruling influence. I have had the honor to serve the crown; and if I could have submitted to influence, I might have continued to serve; but I would not be responsible for others. I have no local attachments: it is indifferent to me whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed: I sought for merit wherever it was to be found; it is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it, and found it in the mountains of the north: I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men—men who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to overturn the state in the war before the last: these men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valor, and conquered for you in every part of the world: detested be the national reflections against them! they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. When I ceased to serve his majesty as a minister, it was not the country of the man by which I was moved; but the man of that country wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom.'

Mr. Pitt proceeded to observe, that when the resolution of taxing America was first taken, he was confined by sickness; but so great was the agitation of his mind, caused by that momentous question, that if he could have endured to be moved in his bed, he would have solicited the assistance of his friends, in carrying him to the floor of the house, in order to give his testimony against the measure. He then expressed his hope that a day might soon be appointed, in which the subject would be discussed fully, but with temper and impartiality; for the more important measure had not engaged the attention of the commons, since they debated, near a century since, whether they themselves were to be bondmen or free. Having reprobated the argument of Mr. Nugent, which had a tendency to rest on a point of honor, he declared his opinion, that Great Britain had no right to tax the colonies, though he asserted her sovereignty over them in all cases of legislation. 'The colonists,' said he, 'are subjects of this kingdom, equally intitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind,

and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws, and participating in its free constitution: taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power: for taxes are the voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation, the three estates of the realm are alike concerned; but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax is only necessary to clothe it with the form of a law; the gift and grant is of the commons only.' After showing how the great bulk of the land had passed into the hands of the commons, he went on to say; 'When therefore in this house we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own: but in an American tax, what do we do? We your majesty's commons of Great Britain give and grant to your majesty, what? our own property?—no: we give and grant the property of your commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms. The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The crown, and the peers, are equally legislative powers with the commons: if taxation be a part of simple legislation, the crown and the peers have rights in taxation as well as yourselves; rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by power.' He then combated the arguments of those who asserted that an inhabitant of America was represented in the British parliament. After asking, in which of the counties, that respectable part of the representation, he was so represented, he put the same question regarding the boroughs;—'and this,' said he, 'is called the rotten part of the constitution: it cannot last a century; if it does not drop, it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house is the most contemptible that ever entered into the head of a man: it does not deserve a serious refutation. The commoners of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money: they would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it: at the same time, this kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations and restrictions, in trade, in navigation, in manufactures; in every thing except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.'

After a considerable pause, general Conway rose to declare that his sentiments on this great constitutional question coincided with those which had been so eloquently enforced by Mr. Pitt. 'But,' said the honorable secretary, 'with regard to

that overruling influence which has been hinted at, I see nothing of it; I feel nothing of it: I disclaim it for myself; and, as far as my discernment can reach, for all the rest of his majesty's ministers.'

Mr. Grenville, however, to whom Mr. Pitt's pointed and energetic remarks were more immediately directed, made an able and spirited reply in defence of himself and of his measures. After censuring the new ministry severely for not giving earlier notice to parliament respecting the disturbances in America, and for allowing those disturbances, which at first were only common occurrences, to grow into tumults bordering on rebellion, and which, if the doctrine lately broached was confirmed, would end in revolution; he declared that he could not understand the difference between external and internal taxes; the same in effect, and differing only in name. Taxation, he contended, is a part of sovereign power, and one branch of legislation; nay, it had been constantly exercised over those who were never represented. He instanced this in the case of the East India company; the merchants of London; the proprietors of the public funds; and especially the palatinates of Chester and Durham, before they sent members to parliament: appealing for proof to the preambles of the acts which gave them representatives.[1] Mr. Grenville then desired that these acts might be read; which having been done, he continued:—'When I proposed to tax America, I repeatedly asked the house if any objection could be made to the right: but no one attempted to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal: Great Britain protects America; America is bound to yield obedience: if not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always ready to ask it; and that protection has been always afforded them in the most ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them protection; and now, when they are called on to contribute a small share toward the public expense,—an expense arising from themselves,—they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might say, into open rebellion. The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house; for gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition: we were told, that we trod on tender ground; we were bid to

[1] The one in the reign of Henry VIII., the other in that of Charles II.

expect disobedience: what was this, but telling the Americans to resist the law,—to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support here? Let us only persevere for a short time, they would say; our friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful people of America! what bounties have been extended to them! When I had the honor of serving the crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you gave bounties on their lumber, their iron, their hemp, and many other articles: you relaxed in their favor the act of navigation, that palladium of British commerce: and yet I have been abused in all the public papers as an enemy to the trade of America. I have been particularly charged with giving orders and instructions to prevent the Spanish trade, and thereby stopping the channel by which alone North America used to be supplied with cash for remittances to this country. I defy any man to produce such orders or instructions: I discouraged no trade but what was illicit, and prohibited by act of parliament: I was above giving an answer to anonymous calumnies: but in this place it becomes me to wipe off the aspersion.'

After Mr. Grenville had ceased speaking, several members rose, and Mr. Pitt among the number; but the rest gave way to him, at the clamorous call of the house. Resuming his subject, he declared that he only meant to have thrown out a few hints on the right of taxation; but since Mr. Grenville had gone into the justice, policy, and expediency of the stamp act, he would follow him through the whole field, and combat all his arguments. An objection here being started on the point of order, it was decided in Mr. Pitt's favor; and, by desire of the house, he thus proceeded:—'I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. Sorry I am to hear liberty of speech in this house imputed to any one as a crime; but the imputation shall not discourage me: it is a liberty I mean to exercise: no one should be afraid to exercise it: it is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited; he ought to have profited; and he ought to have desisted from his project. The gentleman tells us America is obstinate,—America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted: three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of others. I come not here armed at all points with law cases and acts of parliament, with the statute-book doubled down in dogs-ears, to defend the cause of liberty: if I had, I myself

would have cited the two cases of Chester and Durham; I would have cited them to show, that even under arbitrary reigns, parliaments, ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, allowed them representatives. Why did the gentleman confine himself to Chester and Durham? He might have taken a higher example in Wales—Wales that never was taxed by parliament until it was incorporated.' Mr. Pitt then deprecated the consideration of this question as a mere point of law, for which he acknowleged his inability: but wished that it might be discussed on constitutional principles; that being a ground on which he stood firm, and could boldly meet any man. He distinguished between Americans who were not, and could not be represented in parliament; and merchants, stockholders, and manufacturers, who were represented, or might be if they would. He recapitulated the names and characters of the chief ministers since the revolution; none of whom, he said, ever thought or dreamed of robbing the colonies of their constitutional rights. There were not wanting some who had endeavored to persuade him, when minister, to burn his fingers with an American stamp act; and perhaps, under their circumstances at that time, the colonists might have submitted; but it would have been taking an unjust and ungenerous advantage of them.

'I am no courtier of America,' he said: 'I stand up for this kingdom: I maintain that parliament has a right to bind and to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme: when it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule it, as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both. There is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject; although, in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter. The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated? I desire to know when they were made slaves? But I dwell not on words.' Mr. Pitt then asserted that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of her colonies, through all its branches, were two millions a year. 'This,' said he, 'was the fund which carried us triumphantly through the last war; this is the price America pays for protection: and shall

a miserable financier come with a boast, that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the exchequer by the loss of millions to the nation? I am convinced,' he added, 'the whole commercial system of America may be altered to advantage: you have prohibited where you ought to have encouraged, and you have encouraged where you ought to have prohibited: improper restraints have been laid on the continent in favor of the islands. Let the acts of parliament in consequence of treaties remain; but let not an English minister become a custom-house officer for Spain, or for any foreign power. Much is wrong; much may be amended for the general good of the whole. The gentleman must not wonder that he was not contradicted, when, as minister, he asserted the right of parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this house, which does not choose to contradict a minister: even your chair, sir, looks too often toward St. James's. I wish gentlemen would think better of this modesty; if they do not, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate its respect for the representative. A great deal has been said without doors of the power and strength of America: it is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms; but on this ground, on the stamp act, when so many here will think it a crying injustice, (I am one who will lift up my hands against it,) in such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man: she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her.' The orator then, deprecating too much severity in judging the conduct of the Americans, said; 'I acknowlege they have not acted in all things with prudence and temper: but they have been wronged; they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side: I will undertake for America, that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior, on a man's behavior to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them—

> Be to her faults a little blind;
> Be to her virtues very kind.'

In conclusion, he gave it as his opinion, that the stamp act should be repealed absolutely, totally, immediately; and the reason assigned,—that it was founded on an erroneous prin-

ciple. 'At the same time,' he added, 'let the sovereign authority of this country over her colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation: that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power, except that of taking their money without their consent.'

Though the urgency of this important question occasioned the house to pursue it with unwearied application, yet the nature of the inquiries, the number of petitions received, and the multitude of papers and witnesses to be examined, occasioned long and unavoidable delays. In the mean time continual debates took place, in which partisans of the late administration made strenuous efforts to enforce the act. Those who contended for its repeal were divided in opinion; the more numerous body, supporting ministers in their views of expediency, still insisted on the right of our legislature to tax the colonies; while that party which agreed with Mr. Pitt in denying the right of taxation, was not so numerous, though it contained several eminent and popular characters.

The advocates for this right labored hard to show that Mr. Pitt's distinction between external and internal taxes was false and groundless. It is granted, said they, that restrictions on trade and duties at the ports are legal; while internal taxes are declared to be illegal: yet what real difference is there between them? A tax laid anywhere is like a pebble dropped into a lake, making circle after circle, till the whole surface from centre to circumference is agitated: for nothing is more evident, than that a tax laid on tobacco, either in the ports of England or Virginia, is as much a duty laid on the inland plantations of the latter, as if it were collected 100 miles up the country, on the spot where the tobacco grows. It was also strongly urged, that protection was the only true ground on which the right of taxation could be founded; though it does not seem to have struck those who held this opinion, that it might have been turned into an irresistible argument against themselves: for had it been allowed, the Americans needed only to have said, we have no want of your protection, we are both able and willing to defend ourselves: and then all plea for taxing them would have been at an end: England must either have withdrawn her protecting force, and left them independent; or she must have argued from the right of the stronger, and taxed them on the principles of despotism.

Among the many witnesses examined on this occasion, in order to ascertain the real sentiments of the colonists, was the

celebrated Benjamin Franklin, who had visited most of the provinces, and was well acquainted with the leading men in each. Being highly esteemed by the Americans for his talent, honesty, and shrewd sense, he had been chosen agent for Massachusets, and sent over in that capacity to exert himself in defeating the measures complained of. His statements had been totally disregarded by the preceding administration, whose leader had taken up the question on principles which no representations, no arguments could move; but he met with a different reception from the present ministers, who were taught by him to believe that the colonists were well affected toward the parent state, and anxious to prevent a separation, which would be injurious to both parties. 'Theirs,' he said, 'was the affection of British subjects, desirous only to maintain their constitutional rights, and determined only to oppose the violation of them.' He declared it to be his opinion, that a conciliatory system, commencing with a repeal of the stamp act, would be sufficient to re-establish harmony; and though he felt assured that the assemblies would never be induced to rescind their resolutions, yet they would be satisfied with the repeal, even if it should be accompanied by an act asserting the right of parliament to impose taxes on them at pleasure. In giving this opinion, it has been thought and confidently affirmed, that Franklin, having the independence of his country greatly at heart, and knowing well the temper and disposition of its inhabitants, wilfully misled the British ministry: certain it is, that circumstances had occurred in the American provinces,[2] long before any actual collision took place, with which Franklin could not have been unacquainted, and which indicated a very ardent spirit of independence. He must have known that nothing less than a disavowal of the right of taxation would have satisfied the Americans, even for the present; nor could it have escaped so penetrating a mind as his, that nothing short of actual freedom would have long sufficed to keep the colonies on a friendly footing with Great Britain. Still it must be acknowleged that some of the most acute and patriotic men among our transatlantic brethren, of whom Washington was one, thought that the repeal of the stamp act, and the removal of a few inconvenient regulations of commerce, would have effected that desirable end.

Whatever may have been the differences of opinion, either in or out of the house, on this important case, the whole

2 See Preliminary Essay.

resolved itself into the two following propositions;—whether Great Britain had a right to tax her American colonies? and whether the stamp act was an expedient measure? On the first, ministers decided in the affirmative; on the second, they held a contrary opinion; while the late administration supported them on the question of right, but opposed the repeal with considerable strength both of argument and numbers: in this opposition they were backed by that party which was called 'the king's friends,' men who disclaimed all political ties, except those which bound them to the throne; and to whom it was well known, that although his majesty had consented to the repealing act, he had done so with a very bad grace; and that although he had eagerly welcomed the whigs in his extreme need, he still retained all his early prejudices against them: but notwithstanding these efforts, the act passed, on a division, by a majority of 275 to 167; having been preceded by a declaratory bill, reprobating the tumultuous proceedings of the colonists, and claiming a legislative right for Great Britain in all cases. When this previous bill was sent to the upper house, lord Camden strenuously opposed it, asserting, like his friend Mr. Pitt below, that in his opinion taxation and representation are inseparable, and that such a connexion is coeval with the constitution. 'There is not,' said he, 'a blade of grass growing in the most obscure corner of this kingdom which is not, which was not ever represented, since the beginning of the constitution; there is not a blade of grass, which, when taxed, was not taxed by the consent of the proprietor.' He defended his opinion by Locke's principle, that the supreme power cannot take from a man any part of his property without his own consent; and refused his assent to any bill asserting our right to tax the colonies, while they remained unrepresented.

The repealing act met with a still more determined opposition: at the second reading, an interesting debate ensued; and on a division, the non-contents were 71 against 105, while thirty-three peers entered a long and able protest against it: the third reading provoked a similar debate, and a protest signed by twenty-eight, in which many of the former objections were enforced, and new ones added: with regard to the declaratory act, the dissenting lords looked on it as delusive and nugatory. In addition to these two bills, another was passed to indemnify those who had incurred penalties by transacting business with unstamped writings.

During the late debates, ministers had held frequent con-

ferences with American and West Indian merchants; from whom they acquired a knowlege of the trade and the manner of conducting it: in consequence of which, and of petitions from some great commercial town, they passed a bill, this session, for opening free ports, under certain restrictions, in the islands of Dominica and Jamaica; while several new and important regulations were made in the commercial system of the colonies, and some burdensome restrictions taken off. They also promoted the extension of trade in general by a commercial treaty with Russia, for which they received the unanimous thanks of the Russian company: nor did they omit to obtain from France a liquidation of those bills which had been left unsettled since the cession of Canada, or to put the Manilla ransom in a train of adjustment.

To show that they were also ready to redress grievances at home, they proposed and carried a repeal of the obnoxious cider tax, as far as related to private individuals; laying on a different duty, and altering the mode of collecting it; they also passed an act for restraining the importation of foreign silks, to the great joy of English manufacturers; and having abolished the old duties on houses and windows, they settled the rates with more equity toward the middle and lower classes.

The question of general warrants was also taken up by this ministry; when, after several debates, it was resolved, that 'a general warrant for seizing and apprehending any person or persons, being illegal, except in cases provided for by act of parliament, is, if executed on a member of the house of commons, a breach of privilege.' A bill for restraining the issuing of warrants to seize papers, except in cases of treason or felony, under certain regulations, went through the lower house, but was thrown out by the lords.

But though many of these legislative acts were important in themselves, and well calculated to insure popularity, the administration itself was tottering to its fall. By a large and influential portion of the community the present ministers were considered as intruders, who kept Mr. Pitt out of office: the confidence of their royal master was wholly lost to them, when they repealed the stamp act; but his indignation was excited by their omission, through inattention or embarrassment, to procure from parliament a provision for his younger brothers till the committee of supply was closed. Sensible therefore of an approaching dissolution of the cabinet, the duke of Grafton resigned office; pleading, in his justification, that the ministry was deficient in strength to guide the helm of state with

success: he had no objection to the character of the men who composed it, or to their measures; but in his opinion Mr. Pitt alone could give vigor and solidity to an administration: under him he professed himself 'willing to serve in any capacity, not exclusively as a superior officer, but as a pioneer with spade and mattock.' The seals which he resigned, were given to the duke of Richmond, having been refused by lord Hardwicke; who nevertheless accepted a seat in the cabinet, and lent his aid to government.

The manner in which the repeal of the stamp duties was received in America, even though accompanied with the declaratory act, seemed at first to justify that measure. To the great mass of people, the mere assertion of an abstract right, which was considered only as due to the dignity of parliament, created very little alarm: the intention of taxing America was abandoned, and that was sufficient for them. Many persons among the higher classes, of honest minds and upright sentiments, thought that all cause for apprehension was at an end; and the opinion of Washington on the subject is thus recorded in his correspondence:—'Unseasonable as it may be to take any notice of the repeal of the stamp act at this time, yet I cannot help observing, that a contrary measure would have produced very unhappy consequences: those, therefore, who wisely foresaw such an event, and were instrumental in procuring a repeal of that act, are in my opinion deservedly intitled to the thanks of all well-wishers to Great Britain and her colonies; and they must reflect with pleasure, that through their means many scenes of confusion and distress have been prevented. Mine they accordingly have, and always shall have, for their opposition; and that act could be looked on in no other light by every person, who would view it in its proper colors.'[3] Washington's mind however was very different in its constitution from those fierce republican spirits of New England, who now viewed the declaratory act with a satisfaction proportionate to the hatred which they bore toward the mother country. As soon as the first burst of joy was over, this became a ready subject for their angry declamation, and a convenient stimulus to popular excitement. Though the courts resumed their sittings, and the merchants their dealings, yet public writers were employed to prevent a cordial reconciliation: the people were exhorted not to rely implicitly on what was extorted through fear; and they were encouraged

[3] Writings of Washington, &c. by Jared Sparks, vol. ii. p. 344.

to breed cattle and sheep; to cultivate hemp, cotton and flax; also to set up manufactories of coarse but useful articles, such as they would probably want, in case of future quarrels with Great Britain. While addresses of thanks were voted by the colonial assemblies to the king, especial care was taken to avoid confessing the slightest obligation to parliament: but even that show of gratitude soon vanished, and signs of a refractory and rebellious disposition reappeared.

In the northern commercial districts the acts of trade were considered hardly less obnoxious than the stamp act: accordingly, in the assembly of Massachusets, which was convened at the end of May, the same temper was found to prevail which had hitherto marked their proceedings. The controversy did not commence here with the stamp act, and was not likely to terminate with it: a regular system had been adopted; the dispute had been conducted on principles so general, had extended itself over so wide a surface, and had so engaged the feelings of the people, that harmony could not be restored by the abandonment of a single measure, however interesting it had been for the time. The first symptom of hostilities exhibited itself in a dispute between governor Bernard and the legislative assembly. The house had made choice of Mr. James Otis for their speaker; and as he was rejected by the governor, when the election of counsellors came on, four, who had been at the board several years,[4] were omitted by the assembly; in consequence of which, the governor negatived six of the gentlemen who were chosen: but this exclusion of the friends of government from the council gave deep offence to the governor, and in his speeches to the house he animadverted on it with great severity. 'When,' said he, 'the government is attacked in form, when there is a professed intention to deprive it of its best and most able servants, whose only crime is their fidelity to the crown, I cannot be indifferent, but find myself obliged to exercise every legal and constitutional power for maintaining the king's authority against such ill-judged and ill-timed oppugnation of it.'—'It must and will be understood, that these gentlemen are turned out for their deference to acts of the British legislature.'—'It is impossible to give any tolerable coloring to this proceeding.'

Governor Bernard was a man of considerable talent, but hardly equal to the delicate and difficult situation in which he was placed: he undertook the government of Massachusets

[4] T. Hutchinson, A. Oliver, P. Oliver, and E. Trowbridge.

with flattering prospects of a peaceful and popular administration; but, by birth an Englishman, and strongly attached to the principle of prerogative, he sometimes lost his equanimity of temper in dealing with republican spirits, and came unfortunately into collision with men superior to himself in ability, who could at any time lash him into irritation, and then take advantage of his attempts to retaliate.

The house, in answer to the governor's speeches, coolly observed, that 'the integrity and uprightness of their intentions and conduct was such, that no 'coloring' was requisite: they were wholly at a loss to conceive how a full, free, and fair election could be called 'a formal attack on the government;' 'a professed intention to deprive it of its best and most able servants;' 'an ill-judged and ill-timed oppugnation of the king's authority:' they were summoned and convened to give their free suffrages at the general election, and had done so according to the dictates of their conscience and best light of their understanding: had his excellency,' they observed, 'favored them with his opinion of the candidates before the election, and with a list and positive orders whom to choose; then they would, on his principles, have been without excuse: but even the most abject slaves are not to be blamed for disobeying their masters' will, when it is wholly unknown to them.'

But the most important question at this time concerned grants of compensation to sufferers by the late riots. Governor Bernard had already advised this measure; and he now laid before the assembly a letter from the secretary of state, conveying a recommendation of it from the British legislature: in the vote of parliament the word 'recommend' had, after a long debate, been substituted for some other, which would probably have been more offensive: this circumstance, together with the advice of their agent in England, a wish not to disgust their friends in the British parliament, their own disapprobation of the conduct of the rioters, and representations made by many of their constituents, determined the members of assembly to depart from their original determination on this point, though not without considerable reluctance and hesitation. To the governor's communication they sent a reply, expressing pity for the sufferers, and condemning the conduct of the rioters; but added, that as compensation was an act of generosity, not of justice, they were unwilling to burden their constituents with the expense of it until they had an opportunity of consulting them; and therefore had postponed the subject until next session.

After some ineffectual attempts to bring them to a decision, he prorogued the assembly; but soon convened it again, for the purpose of obtaining a definite answer to the recommendation: the house then framed a bill for granting compensation to the sufferers, but accompanied it with a clause of general pardon and indemnity to the offenders; who were thus taught to consider themselves meritorious objects of attention to the legislature. As if it were possible that their opinions could yet be mistaken, they at the same time passed the following resolution:—

'That this house, in passing the bill, were influenced by a loyal and grateful regard to his majesty's mild and gracious recommendation; by a deference to the opinions of the illustrious patrons of the colonies in Great Britain; and by the interests of internal peace and order; without regard to any interpretation of his majesty's recommendation into a requisition, precluding all debate and controversy; and with a full persuasion that the sufferers had no just claim or demand on the province, and that this compliance might be drawn hereafter into a precedent.'[5]

The manner in which the governor had constantly spoken of the vote of parliament as a requisition, urging compliance with it as necessary to expiate the sins of the province, gave some color of excuse to their resentment on this occasion; but they had no reason to fear lest in England they should be thought to have humbled themselves too much: on the contrary, the bill of indemnity was there considered as an extraordinary instance of colonial presumption.

Another incident occurred about this time, which brought the governor and the assembly again into collision, and showed the determined spirit of the New Englanders in maintaining this contest of rights with the parent state. Two companies of artillery had been driven into the harbor of Boston by stress of weather, and were lodged in the castle; being supplied with fuel and candles by order of the governor and council, and at the expense of the provincial treasury. When the legislature met in January 1767, the house very soon sent a message, to inquire what provision had been made for these troops, and by whom? The governor in reply sent them a copy of the minutes of council, by which provision had been made in pursuance of a late act of parliament, commonly called the mutiny act, which had been passed, or rather amended, last session,

5 Massachusets State Papers, p. 100.

and which required the colonists to supply British soldiers with salt, vinegar, beer, and a few other necessaries: but this justification appeared worse to the house than the offence itself; and in their answer they complained bitterly that an act of parliament should be in existence, which as grievously deprived them of their unalienable right of voluntary taxation as the stamp act itself had done; and also that the governor and council should have unwarrantably and unconstitutionally subjected the people to such an expense, without consulting the house, and giving them an opportunity of granting a free aid to his majesty for the public service. A subsequent attempt to enforce this act was productive of still more resolute opposition: it also met with the same spirit of resistance at New York, where the assembly presumed to pass an act on their own authority which remodelled or repealed some of its regulations.

In other provinces similar obstinacy appeared; and in Duchesse county, the military, having been called in to assist the civil power, and fired on by the mob, were compelled in self-defence to return the fire: in New York, some soldiers having attempted to cut down a tree of liberty, the populace resisted them; and nothing but the moderation of the commanding officer, and the interposition of the magistrates, prevented the shedding of blood.

While thus the healing measures of the British ministry produced only a momentary conciliation, its own existence was drawing to a close. The secret causes operating to produce its fall have already been alluded to: its immediate dissolution was accelerated by the chancellor, lord Northington. This nobleman had now held the great seal during three successive administrations; and his health had become so much impaired by frequent attacks of the gout, that on several occasions he had been unable to perform the duties of his office: he therefore began to desire an honorable and quiet retreat; and the feeble state of the Rockingham ministry gave him a good opportunity of promoting a change by which an agreeable retirement might be secured:[6] he had never been cordially attached to its members; while his ancient obligations to Mr. Pitt, and his personal friendship for lord Camden, convinced him, it is said, that those statesmen alone were able to form a solid and permanent administration. The first token of his defection appeared in the strong dissatisfaction he exhibited

[6] The reason is assigned by lord Henley, in a late memoir of his ancestor.

on account of the commercial treaty with Russia, though this measure had elicited thanks from our merchants connected with that country: the next was a violent ebullition of indignation, at the council-board, against a report drawn up and submitted to the cabinet by the attorney and solicitor general, for the government of Canada; the principal feature of which was, to preserve the ancient rights of property, or its civil laws, and to improve its criminal code by the more equitable and mild system of English jurisprudence: the whole scheme however was denounced by his lordship as theoretical, visionary, and unworthy of practical statesmen; and he demanded that a complete copy of the Canadian laws should be procured before any legislation took place: at the same time, he complained of several instances of neglect which he had experienced from his colleagues; and the meeting broke up without coming to any definite resolution. Before another could be convened, he declared his intention to attend no more; and having demanded an audience of the king, he informed his majesty that the present ministry was unable to carry on the government, refused to hold the great seal under them, and strongly advised that an application should be made to Mr. Pitt. In consequence of these suggestions, lord Northington received the royal command to confer with that statesman; to whom, on the twelfth of July, he offered a *carte blanche* for the formation of a cabinet; general Conway, who was to retain his office, assisting at the negotiation.

'At this juncture,' says an able writer before quoted, 'Mr. Pitt had it in his power to give the victory either to the whigs or to the king's friends. If he had allied himself closely with Lord Rockingham, what could the court have done? There would have been only one alternative, the whigs or Grenville; and there could be no doubt what the king's choice would be; he still remembered the thraldom from which his uncle had freed him; and he said, about this time, with great vehemence, 'that he would sooner see the Devil come into his closet than Grenville.' And what was there to prevent Pitt from allying himself with Lord Rockingham? On all important questions their views were the same: they had agreed in condemning the peace, the stamp-act, general warrants, the seizure of papers; while the points in which they differed were few and unimportant. In integrity, disinterestedness, and hatred of corruption, they resembled each other: their personal interests could not clash: they sat in different houses; and Pitt had always declared that nothing should induce him to become

first lord of the treasury.'[7] According to the same authority, the Rockingham party had, in their anxiety for the public interests, treated this great man with a courtesy bordering on obsequiousness, bestowing a peerage on his devoted friend Chief Justice Pratt, and repeatedly giving him to understand, that, if he chose to join their ranks, they were ready to receive him as a leader. What then, it is asked, was there to separate from this whig party, or attach to that of '*the king's friends*,' one who had never owed anything to flattery or intrigue; one whose eloquence and independent spirit had overawed two generations of slaves and jobbers; and who had been twice forced on a reluctant prince by the enthusiasm of an admiring nation? The answer given is that unhappily the court had gained Mr. Pitt; not indeed by the ignoble means employed when such men as Rigby and Wedderburn were to be won, but by allurements suited to a nature noble even in its aberrations; by the blandishments of praise, by caresses and promises from the sovereign, whose person and dignity that disciple of the school of Locke and Sidney always regarded with profound veneration: this, and his own personal weight in the state, which was independent of any party, rendered him no unwilling agent in the work of dissolving all political connexions.

When the list for a new ministry was completed, an invitation was sent to lord Temple at Stowe; and on the fifteenth that nobleman had an interview with the king, at which the chancellor was present: next day, lord Temple saw Mr. Pitt, and found, to his great astonishment, that he himself was to be placed at the head of the treasury, without being allowed to nominate a single member of the cabinet: after remonstrating against such unhandsome treatment, he exerted every effort to effect an accommodation; he conceded that his brother Mr. Grenville should support the ministry without holding any post; and proposed earl Gower and lord Lyttleton for official situations: but Mr. Pitt, supposing that he possessed the intire confidence of his sovereign, and urged by his own ardent and decisive temper, appeared on this occasion wholly divested of that lustre, which his transcendent genius and public spirit generally spread around his character: he rejected all the offers of lord Temple, spurning every notion of equality, and determining to be sole dictator: he thus sacrificed to personal vanity a friendship of long standing, which had been cemented by private affection, and dignified by a participation of public honors. On the evening of the seventeenth, a last interview

7 Edinburgh Review, No. 162, p. 579.

took place between lord Temple and the chancellor, when the former told him, 'that the farce was at an end; that he need not have sent for him out of the country, as there could have been no serious intention of employing him.'

With so many splendid endowments fitting him for command, Mr. Pitt was deficient in that quality which makes allowance for the feelings and weaknesses of others, and which is absolutely necessary to a statesman in a free country. In his own abilities he had unlimited confidence; and under a despotic government he might have been minister for life, wielding the destinies of Great Britain, and with them those of Europe: but the period for such a display of bold and vigorous ambition was passed away; and mighty schemes of independent government could no longer be effected. It was necessary for a minister now to make compromises and concessions, to build up the structure of his power by means of associates whom he might not deign to acknowledge as equals, and even then to feel that it rested on public opinion.

Mr. Pitt soon experienced the mortifying effects arising from his arrogant assumption of authority, when unassisted by his former ally and powerful coadjutor. Imagining that the splendor of his name alone was sufficient to induce any man in the realm to enlist under his banner, he made offers to different persons of weight and consideration, with a view of detaching them from their friends: he tampered with the duke of Portland, who still held the office of lord chamberlain; with Mr. Dowdeswell, the chancellor of the exchequer: and even with lord Gower, whom he had himself rejected when proposed by lord Temple: meeting however with no success in those quarters, he was infatuated enough to go to the marquis of Rockingham, who now refused even to see him; when irritated and rendered desperate by such rebuffs, he hastily formed that motley administration, which Mr. Burke ingeniously compared to a cabinet variously inlaid, or to a tesselated pavement without cement: 'here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories: treacherous friends and open enemies: so that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on.'

The mention of Mr. Burke's name leads us to inquire, why that extraordinary personage, who, at his very outset, had extorted unqualified praise from Mr. Pitt himself, was not advanced by lord Rockingham to a seat in his tottering cabinet, and why so many succeeding administrations neglected to avail

themselves of the services of so profound a politician by appointing him to one of the highest places in the government? We might answer in a few words,—that Mr. Burke was a 'new man,' wholly unsupported by aristocratical connexions: but some observations which have lately appeared in one of our most amusing and instructive periodicals, appear so applicable to this question, as to demand especial notice.[8] It is there justly remarked, that one of the most curious features in the times of which we are now treating, is the manner in which the country was disposed of; 'no game of whist in one of the lordly clubs of St. James's-square being more exclusively played. It was simply a question whether his grace of Bedford would be content with a quarter or a half of the cabinet; or whether the marquis of Rockingham would be satisfied with two-fifths; or whether the earl of Shelburne should have all, or share his power with the duke of Portland. In those barterings and borrowings we never hear the name of the nation: no whisper announces that there is such a thing in existence as the people; nor is there an allusion in the embroidered conclave to its interests, feelings, or necessities. All was done as in an assemblage of a higher race of beings, calmly carving out the world for themselves; a tribe of epicurian deities, with the cabinet for their Olympus. And this high-bred condition of affairs was still more repulsive, from the fact that the greater number of those disposers of office and dividers of empire were among the emptiest of mankind. The succession of ministers from the days of Walpole, (a shrewd, though coarse and profligate personage,) with the exception of Chatham, was a list of silken imbeciles; very rich, or very high-born, or very handsomely supplied with boroughs; but in all other respects the last men that should have been entrusted with power. We have to thank the satirists,' it is added, 'the public misfortunes, and the demagogues, the sarcastic pen of Junius, and even the gross impudence of Wilkes, for extinguishing this smooth and pacific system.' It might have been said also, that such a state of things must have turned the minds of many sensible and reflecting persons toward a reform of that parliament which could endure such ignoble domination.

When arrangements were completed, the duke of Grafton discovered that the sacrifice he had made for his friend was rewarded, not by degradation to the condition of a pioneer,

[8] Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, No. 350, p. 754. Several letters in Burke's Correspondence lately published fully bear out the remarks here detailed.

but by elevation to the rank of a general officer; for he was placed at the head of the treasury bench; a station which Mr. Pitt could not occupy on account of his health: he therefore selected for himself the office of privy seal, which he thought would leave him leisure to direct the state puppets according to his inclinations;[9] while his ambition was farther gratified by the titles of viscount Pynsent and earl of Chatham. To Charles Townshend, who by his eloquence had gained great reputation in the house of commons, was committed the task of leading that house as chancellor of the exchequer: general Conway was continued in his office of secretary of state, with the earl of Shelburne for a colleague; sir Charles Saunders being made first lord of the admiralty, and the marquis of Granby commander of the forces. The great seal was given to lord Camden; and the earl of Northington's reward was the president's chair, with a pension of £2000 per annum, in addition to its salary: an increase of that pension to £4000 was secured to him on his resignation of the office; and the reversion of the hanaper for two lives after the demise of the duke of Chandos: thus as his biographer curiously observes, 'as far as this ministerial arrangement regarded lord Northington, his desired retirement was provided for on *gratifying* and *honorable* terms:' of all changes however none excited so much surprise, as that which restored the privy seal of Scotland to lord Bute's brother, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie. But no sooner had the great commoner formed this heterogeneous cabinet, and removed into the house of lords, than, as Mr. Burke observed, 'he was no longer minister.' By his acceptance of a peerage, however well it was earned, and however necessary to his bodily infirmities was a change from the house of commons to that of the lords, he greatly diminished his popularity; and as he had let into the administration many persons who were not sincerely attached either to his person or to his political doctrines, it happened that when ill health detained him from the council-board, plans were not unfrequently adopted which were discordant with his views.[10] His

[9] 'In July, 1766, Mr. Pitt was created earl of Chatham, and appointed lord privy seal, holding with that office the situation of prime minister.'—Lord Barrington's Memoir, p. 111.

[10] Mr. Nicholls observes, that 'when the earl of Chatham fell ill, the derelict mind of the duke of Grafton was instantly seized by the first occupant: Charles Townshend was that occupant; and as C. Townshead had no fixed principles, it was not surprising that the minister, under his guidance, sometimes proposed one measure, and in a short time after another, its reverse.'—Recollections, vol. ii. p. 83.

influence in the city received a considerable shock by two clever publications from the pen of Mr. Burke: in the first of which he gave 'a short account of the late short administration, which,' says he, 'came into employment under mediation of the duke of Cumberland, on the tenth of July, 1765; and was removed, on a plan settled by the earl of Chatham, on the thirtieth day of July, 1766:' and a few days after, when this plain impressive vindication of his friends had produced its effect, a humorous and ironical reply appeared from the same hand, in which the disingenuous conduct of their successors was ably exposed. Speaking of lord Chatham's arrangement of the cabinet, he says; 'on the whole, it is next to *scandalum magnatum*, to allege that the earl of Chatham did anything less than dictate the late changes. He has, once more, deigned to take the reins of government in his own hand; and will, no doubt, drive with his wonted speed, and raise a deal of dust around him: his horses are all matched to his mind; but as some of them are young and skittish, it is said that he has adopted the new contrivance lately exhibited by sir Francis Delaval on Westminster-bridge: whenever they begin to snort, and toss up their heads, he touches the spring, throws them loose, and away they go, leaving his lordship safe and snug, and as much at ease as if he sat on a woolpack.' He next attacked the patents and reversions granted to lord Northington, lord Camden, and Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, 'brother german to lord Bute, and brother in office to lord Chatham; *par nobile fratrum*, which ever way you take it.' To this ingenious paper he affixed the signature of Whittington; and it is said that the great original with his cat, in their day, could scarcely have made more noise and attracted more attention than his supposed descendant and namesake. Even Mr. Beckford, with all his wealth and influence, shared in the unpopularity of his friend; and both these patriots soon afterwards sank still lower in the estimation of all real friends of the constitution, on account of their efforts, at the next meeting of parliament, to vindicate the dispensing power of the crown.

One of the first diplomatic attempts of lord Chatham was to establish a powerful northern confederacy, principally between England, Russia, and Prussia,[11] to counterbalance that formidable alliance, framed by the house of Bourbon, on the

[11] Provision was to be made for inviting the accession of Denmark, Sweden, the States-General, and such of the German and other powers, as the original contracting parties might agree on, and as were not engaged in the family compact.

basis of its family compact: with this view he procured his friend Mr. Stanley to be appointed ambassador extraordinary at the court of Petersburg, with credentials also for the Prussian monarch: but before he sent this gentleman on so important a mission, he sounded Frederic's sentiments on the subject, by means of sir Andrew Mitchell, who had been many years resident at Berlin, and who enjoyed the full confidence of the king. 'This,' says lord Chatham,[12] 'is a step of such decision and consequence on the part of his Britannic majesty, as cannot fail to make deep impressions on the mind of that clear-sighted monarch, if he be the least inclined toward this great work; and if he meets, on his part, the king's favorable dispositions, I see before us a happy prospect of durable tranquillity: my own heart is in this arduous business.' The answer of sir Andrew states, that he found the king of Prussia very averse to forming new and stricter connexions with England, as well on account of the usage he met with toward the end of the late war, as of the unsettled and fluctuating state of the British government since the peace. When our envoy pressed on his majesty's consideration the fact, that lord Chatham had now taken a share in the administration, as a reason for abandoning his distrust, Frederic's reply was, 'I fear my friend has hurt himself by accepting a peerage at this time.' He received all advances with great coldness, observing, 'that the times were not proper;' and intimating his acquaintance with some matters of discussion between England and France, likely, one time or other, to give occasion for a new war, in which the natural interests of Prussia might not lead her to take a part. In a subsequent conference which sir Andrew had with the king on this subject, not in quality of a minister, but as a private friend, the monarch owned 'that it was not easy to forget the ill usage and injustice he had experienced from our nation at the time of making the last peace;' and he entered into an enumeration of particulars. To this it was replied, that in candor he ought not to impute to the nation faults of individuals who were then unhappily ministers; that there was now a fixed and settled administration, whose way of thinking and acting was very different from that of their predecessors; that while lord Chatham was at its head, his Prussian majesty could not have any real cause for distrust: that the proposed alliance was a measure which his lordship had much at heart, in order to preserve public tranquillity,

[12] Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. iv. p. 496.

and unite the interests of England and Prussia. The king answered, that he had a very high opinion of lord Chatham, and also great confidence in him: but what assurance could be given that he had power, and would continue in office?—'The assurance that his lordship is now the darling of the king and people.'—'That,' said Frederic, 'does not agree with my accounts from England.' Sir Andrew then observed, 'that such accounts were merely reports raised by his lordship's enemies.' To this he replied,—'that he wished it might be so; but till he saw more stability in our administration, he did not choose to draw his connexions with us closer.' Thus the negotiation went off, but without any suspicion being raised of Frederic having views to other alliances. 'If he is cool,' says sir Andrew Mitchell, 'to our nation, he holds the French in abhorrence and contempt: of this he makes no secret.'

The information however which that shrewd monarch possessed respecting lord Chatham's declining popularity was more accurate than his diplomatic friend's. That supposed influence of the earl of Bute, to which it was said his lordship now condescended to submit, blighted his fair fame; and he who had proudly boasted that he would never be responsible for measures which he could not guide, was taunted as a willing agent of men whom he did not even esteem: his acceptance of a peerage was a never-failing source of invective; his quarrel with lord Temple, and all its disparaging circumstances, were unsparingly discussed; innumerable pamphlets appeared against him; and the city of London, where he had lately reigned paramount, repeatedly declined the proposal of presenting him with an address on his appointment.

It was also a very unfortunate circumstance, as regarded lord Chatham's administration, that at this time an alarming scarcity of provisions prevailed, owing to a deficiency in last year's harvest; and, as distress existed on the continent, great apprehension was entertained, lest combinations of monopolists, for the purpose of exportation, might involve the country in all the horrors of famine. In consequence of such fears, and increasing prices of provisions, tumultuous riots occurred in various parts of the kingdom, where the populace took upon themselves to regulate the markets, and to punish supposed delinquents: as a lamentable loss of life in many instances followed these violent proceedings, special commissions were sent down to try the offenders; many of whom were brought to condign punishment, although as much lenity was shown as the necessity of the case would permit. On the eleventh of

September a proclamation appeared for enforcing the law against forestallers and regraters: but since the price of all articles continued to rise, and the city of London made a representation to the throne respecting large orders for wheat received from the continent, a second was issued on the twenty-sixth, prohibiting the exportation of grain; and as parliament was at this time prorogued, an embargo, by royal authority, was laid on all outward-bound vessels laden with corn.

When parliament met on the eleventh of November, the scarcity and high price of provisions formed a principal topic of the king's speech; which recommended farther measures, if necessary, for allaying or remedying the evil. The address was opposed in both houses, amendments being moved which reflected strongly on the late conduct of the privy council; and although these were ultimately rejected, yet it was thought right to pass a bill of indemnity for those who had acted in obedience to the council with regard to the embargo. When this bill was brought in by one of the principal members of the cabinet, a remark was made, that although it provided for the security of inferior officers, who had acted under the proclamation, it passed over those who advised the same; neither had it a preamble sufficiently indicating the illegality of the measure. Hence arose much altercation and debate, especially among the lords; where some, who had long been notorious advocates of popular rights, and among them lords Chatham and Camden, were found eager to vindicate the present exertion of prerogative, on the plea, not of necessity, but of right; arguing that a dispensing power was inherent in the crown, to be exerted indeed only in urgent cases during the recess of parliament, and expiring whenever parliament re-assembled: in support of his opinion, lord Chatham recited several passages from the work of Locke on Government; while lord Camden in his argument observed, that the necessity of a measure rendered it legal; and that as the crown is the sole executive power, it is entrusted by the constitution with liberty to execute what the safety of the state may require during a recess of parliament: 'and this,' said he, 'at most is but a forty days' tyranny.'

These sentiments were strongly opposed by lords Temple, Lyttleton, and Mansfield; the latter of whom, having been long regarded as an instrument of court influence, now, to the surprise of all, stood forth an intrepid champion of the constitution; 'on which occasion,' observes Mr. Nicholls, he

rode the great horse Liberty with much applause.' If, said these orators, the plea of necessity were admitted, and the crown allowed to be sole judge of that necessity, its power would be unlimited; the wisdom therefore of the legislature has deprived the crown of all discretionary power over positive laws, and has freed acts of parliament from the royal prerogative. The power of suspension, which is but another word for temporary repeal, resides in the legislature only, which is the supreme authority of the realm. The recess of parliament is a distinction unknown to the constitution; for the parliament is always in being; its acts never sleep; nor are they to be evaded, even by the plea of necessity. The law is above the king; he and his subjects are bound by it at all times; but if he has the power of suspending or breaking through one law, he must have an equal right to break through all. No real distinction, it was said, can be made between this regal power of suspending the laws, and of raising money without the consent of parliament; and if it were once admitted, the revolution could be called nothing but a successful rebellion, or a lawless and wicked invasion of the rights of the crown; the bill of rights would be but a false libel; and James II. could not be said to have abdicated or forfeited a crown of which he was robbed.

These and other such arguments in favor of constitutional principles could not be answered: however ministers might be justified by the irresistible argument of necessity in the step they took, parliament determined that an act of indemnity was necessary to protect them in a violation of the law: the amended bill was accordingly passed; but the propriety of their conduct was recognised by an address to the king, requesting him to continue and to extend the embargo. The members of the late administration took no conspicuous part in these debates, lest their zeal might be imputed to disappointment and personal enmity; or, perhaps, foreseeing a dissolution of the present cabinet, they deemed it prudent not to throw any obstacles in the way of their return to office.

No long time elapsed, before it was seen that the surmises of the wily king of Prussia were founded on just observation: lord Chatham lost much of his popularity without doors, and of his influence within, by many parts of his conduct, but more especially by defending the exercise of the dispensing prerogative on unconstitutional grounds: besides, the estrangement of lord Temple deprived him of many adherents; and a powerful coalition of parties was forming against him. Anxious therefore

to break this combination, and to prop up his sinking cabinet, he made overtures to the duke of Bedford, with whom he held a satisfactory conference at Bath, preparatory to ulterior arrangements; in consequence of which, his grace's adherents took very little share in the parliamentary debates: still the force of opposition was so strongly felt, and the contrast of his present situation with his triumphant career in a former reign so harassed the minister, that he sought anxiously for means to weaken the force of his antagonists: in order to effect this, he endeavored to create a breach between the duke of Newcastle's adherents and those of lord Rockingham, ungraciously dismissing lord Edgecumbe from his office of treasurer of the household, with a view to gratify the duke of Newcastle, by giving it to sir John Shelly, a near relation of his grace: but this stratagem had an effect contrary to what he anticipated; for instead of dividing these two parties, it rather cemented their union, while it provoked their resentment: even his own associates began to desert him; for the duke of Portland, lord high chamberlain, the earls of Besborough and Scarborough, with lord Monson, withdrew their support; and sir Charles Saunders, with his colleagues sir William Meredith and admiral Keppel, resigned their places at the board of admiralty.

In this state of embarrassment, lord Chatham renewed his negotiations with the duke of Bedford, offering the first place in the admiralty to lord Gower, who took a journey to Woburn for the purpose of consulting his grace on the subject: in his absence, however, the minister, as if infatuated, gave the office to sir Edward Hawke, filling up the other seats at the board with sir Percy Brett and Mr. Jenkinson; while lords Hillsborough and Le Despenser were appointed joint postmasters. Thus the Bedford party were totally alienated from his administration; nor were even those who accepted office thoroughly conciliated; and this once glorious statesman, who had yoked both people and sovereign to his chariot wheels, finding himself deprived of the affection and respect of his colleagues, opposed by violent parties in the house, and daily losing popularity with all classes, became a prey to grief, disappointment, and vexation. With a mind ill at ease, a constitution broken by cares, and a body tortured by the gout, he sank at times into the lowest state of despondency, became incapable of attending to official business, and left the cabinet to make its own arrangements, and adopt its own measures.

Before the meeting of parliament, some important debates and resolutions took place at the India-house. In consequence

of the success of their arms and negotiations in the east, the proprietors naturally expected a corresponding increase of profit: in their opinion, a small dividend, for the sole advantage of their successors, ill agreed with the great prosperity of the company and its anticipated stability. These inclinations however of the proprietors did not coincide intirely with the views of the directors; the former party considering only the successes of the company, while the latter took also into account its expenses and its heavy debts: two factions therefore arose; the one anxious to increase the dividends, the other to keep them at the same rate; and it was determined by the former, if the directors did not themselves declare an augmentation, to make an appeal to a general court. During great part of the summer and autumn, this contest was carried on with much animosity, and various publications on the subject brought the secret affairs of the company before the public eye; so that its opulence as a corporate body, and its utility to the state, became matters of general inquiry and speculation. A compromise, offered by the directors, to raise the dividends, now standing at six per cent., to eight, had already been rejected: but at the Michaelmas meeting, when the parties came to a trial of strength, letters from lord Clive and the select committee at Bengal were read, in which the present and future prospects of the company were displayed in terms far exceeding the expectations even of the most sanguine: the directors, however, still opposed the desired increase; nevertheless, a motion for augmenting the dividends to ten per cent. was carried against them by a large majority; though some of the proprietors themselves thought this success a poor compensation for the publicity given by the contest to their affairs: indeed, a message from the first lord of the treasury was read at this very meeting, declaring the intention of government to take the concerns of the company into consideration; for which purpose a committee was appointed on the twenty-fifth of November, and orders were issued for the production of copies of charters, treaties with native powers, correspondence with public servants, and accounts both of revenue and expenses: but in consequence of a petition from the court of directors, representing the evils that might ensue from a publication of private correspondence, it was agreed that this should not be printed.

On the twenty-fourth of September the queen was safely delivered of a daughter, princess-royal of England, and afterwards queen of Wirtemburg: on the twenty-first of the

following month the court was enlivened by the marriage of the ill-fated Caroline Matilda to her cousin Christian VII., king of Denmark. This victim of state policy was no less remarkable for the beauty and elegance of her person, than for a vivacity of disposition, a variety of attainments, and a sweetness of temper, which irresistibly engaged the affections of all around her: the alliance was expected to benefit this country by strengthening its connexion with one of those northern powers, to which, during the existence of the family compact, our attention was strongly drawn; while Denmark was satisfied with the pecuniary emolument of £40,000, given to the princess for a dowry. It is stated, that the unhappy bride, worthy of a better fate than a union with a royal idiot, fell into a deep melancholy as soon as the treaty was definitely settled: after the ceremony, she quitted her native shores with great regret; and in little more than five years her worst anticipations were realized.

Many other countries, as well as England, experienced internal commotions this year: in the month of March the parliament of Rouen sent a remonstrance to the French king respecting his treatment of the parliament of Britany, whose members he had banished; and having taken the extraordinary liberty to remind him of his coronation oath, in terms which implied a contract between the sovereign and his people, the despot indignantly repelled this interpretation, and declared in reply, 'that the oath which he had taken was not to the nation,' as they asserted, 'but to God alone!' In Britany itself the spirit of resistance, upheld by public opinion, continued unabated, and the counsellors of parliament refused to resume their functions at the king's command: for this act of contumacy they were punished by the insertion of their names in the lists for militia service; and those on whom the lot fell were obliged to join their battalions, while the rest acted as city guards.

Madrid also was the scene of commotions very unexpected by its arbitrary rulers: the king, addicted more to Neapolitan than to Spanish customs, had brought with him from Italy a number of favorites; one of whom, the marquis of Squillace, had been raised to the post of prime minister: under his guidance, the weak prince was persuaded to undertake the task of remodelling the national habits: he accordingly issued a severe edict against the large flapped hats and long cloaks, which had been for ages the favorite costume of the Spanish people; and the consequences of this proceeding were riots and tumults,

which led to the shedding of blood, and ended in the expulsion of the obnoxious minister, with his Italian train.

The greatest dissentions however occurred in the ill-constituted state of Poland: the dissidents, having undergone many grievous oppressions, made application to the courts of Petersburg, Berlin, England, and Denmark, as guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, requesting their interposition with the king and the Polish diet: the ministers of those powers, however, found that they had very little influence with the bigoted catholics, until a strong Russian force advanced towards Warsaw, and terrible commotions took place throughout the country: the troops were then stopped on their march, and the episcopal college consented to sign nine articles, by which the dissidents were allowed free exercise of their worship in churches, wherever they had been permitted to erect them; and in private houses, where no churches existed. Still they were subjected to many restrictions, which denoted a very imperfect toleration.

In Sweden public tranquillity was for a time disturbed by an insurrection of the peasants, resenting the exclusion of one of their body who was elected a member of the diet; but it was soon suppressed, and the ringleaders suffered condign punishment: the diet made several useful regulations for relieving the financial distresses of the state. On the eighth of March, the prince of Orange, being arrived at the age required by law, assumed the administration of the United Provinces, amid the acclamations of the people.

CHAPTER IX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1756–1766.

Affairs of India—Retrospect of them as relating to the deposition of Mir Jaffier Ali Khan—Elevation of his son-in-law Cossim Ali Khan—His conduct—His interests clash with those of the company—Unjust usurpation of trade by individuals in the company's service—Attempts of president Vansittart to adjust matters with the subahdar—Interview between them—Regulations agreed on—Cossim's determination to throw open the trade if these should fail of success—Mr. Vansittart's agreement disavowed by the council—Injurious steps taken by the company's servants—Retaliation by the subahdar—Conduct of Mr. Ellis at Patna—Death of Mr. Amyatt—Recapture of Patna—Mr. Ellis and other English made prisoners—Cossim deposed, and Mir Jaffier again raised to the musnud—He grants the trade to private individuals, and other advantages to the company—Operations of the war between the company and Cossim—Battle of Geriah—Farther operations, and capture of Monghir—Murder of Mr. Ellis and other English prisoners—Patna taken by major Adams—Cossim takes refuge with Sujah Dowla, nabob of Oude—Alliance between him and the emperor to restore Cossim—Major Carnac takes the command of the army—Operations of the war—Major Munro assumes the command—Subdues the rebellious spirit of the army—Battle of Buxar—The emperor deserts the confederacy—Unsuccessful attack on fort Chandageer—Negotiations—Oppressive conduct of the company towards Mir Jaffier—His death—His son Najim u Dowla appointed to succeed him—Arrangements made with him—Steps taken by the directors to abate the oppressive conduct of their servants in the east—Lord Clive appointed governor in India, with a select committee—His sentiments and conduct on his arrival—His account of the proceedings of the company's servants—Lord Clive's progress up the country, and arrangements made with the subahdar—Military operations after the battle of Buxar—Sujah Dowla throws himself on the generosity of the English—Terms made with him and the emperor—Dewanee granted to the company—Disappointed expectations of the directors—Transactions of the select committee respecting the inland trade—Arrangement concerning military expenses—Double pay stopped—Conspiracy of the officers in consequence—Suppressed by the prudence and decision of lord Clive—Treaty of mutual defence between the company and native powers—Najim u Dowla dies—Succeeded by his brother Syeff—Affairs of the inland trade—Taken from the company's servants—Departure of lord Clive from India.

It is now time to take a brief view of the affairs of India; as we are arrived at that memorable epoch, when a company of merchants, whose leading object was gain, and whose principal ambition was the collection of revenue, adopted a line of policy which led them on to the empire of the east; an empire far more powerful than had ever been established by the greatest conquerors in those fertile regions.

It may be recollected that, after the deposition and death of Surajah Dowla, nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, Mir Jaffier Ali Khan had been raised to that dignity through British influence: the character of this prince was weak, treacherous, and cruel; but for some time he continued to exhibit sentiments of gratitude and friendship toward those to whom he owed his elevation: his treasury however soon became exhausted, and his best revenues were mortgaged to supply the vast sums which he had engaged to pay; and as he had granted to his new allies many commercial advantages, he was almost deprived of resources, and driven to very oppressive measures for raising money: these alienated from him the hearts of his subjects, and his own from the English, whom he began to regard as grievous oppressors; which feeling of hostility was increased by the representations of his son Miran, a weak, voluptuous youth; who, having formed projects for breaking the English connexion, irritated his father by taunting him with his dependent state and nominal powers of government.

This jealousy which he entertained of the English soon prompted Mir Jaffier to enter into negotiations with native powers, and even with the Dutch; while the evident injury done to his finances by privileges granted by him to his allies, obliged him in a manner to infringe them: as age advanced, his luxury, licentiousness and tyranny became insupportable; though his feebleness was such, that his tributary rajahs retained the revenues, and if pressed to account for them, vindicated their contumacy by rebellion. Moreover, the English, who fought his battles, were unrewarded as well as hated; their money and effects were considerably exhausted; and Jaffier, far from aiding, impeded all their efforts to obtain supplies, and secretly intrigued with their enemies.

For these reasons the council at Calcutta meditated a change in the administration of affairs; and as Mir Jaffier's son Miran had been killed by a stroke of lightning, which pierced him as he lay in his tent, they sent for Cossim Ali Khan, his son-in-law, a prince of acknowleged talents, who had frequently

professed an attachment to the company, and promised large compensations, if through their exertions he should be promoted to the dewanee,[1] which had been enjoyed by his deceased brother-in-law. A higher field of action now lay open to him: at first it was determined to leave the empty title of sovereignty to Mir Jaffier, after investing his son-in-law with all real power, as guardian of the realm: but this arrangement the old viceroy obstinately opposed, until the British troops entered his capital, and threatened to storm his palace; then it was, that fearing to live under the protection of Cossim, he abdicated the throne for an asylum at Calcutta.

His successor, not only recompensed largely private individuals,[2] but engaged to indemnify the company for their expenses in his exaltation, and in maintaining forces for his security: he also promised to liquidate the balance due from Mir Jaffier, and to fulfil all that prince's engagements: at the same time, he ceded to them the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong. To the inhabitants of those countries situated on the western bank of the Hoogly this was a happy change; for after having been long harassed by the predatory excursions of Mahratta freebooters, they now obtained that tranquillity, which under the company's protection, they have continued to enjoy.

For some time Cossim carried on his administration with extraordinary conduct and success; punctually performing his engagements with the company, and availing himself of their assistance to drive the emperor Shah Allum from the frontiers of his province, as well as to reduce rebellious rajahs and zemindars to obedience: by the money, too, which he extorted from them, added to strict economy and vigilance in collecting his revenue, he satisfied his troops, and was enabled to remodel a considerable portion of his army according to the European system. Peace however could not long subsist between him and the company: the great object of an eastern despot is to extract the largest possible revenue from his subjects, for the purpose of expending it in his own base and sensual gratifications: that of the company's servants, at this period, was to obtain in the shortest possible time the means of returning home with riches sufficient to support the splendor to which

[1] That is, the office of collecting the revenue.

[2] Mr. Summer received £28,000, Mr. Holwell £30,937, Mr. M'Guire £26,375, Mr. Smyth £15,354, major Yorke £15,354, general Caillaud £22,916, Mr. Vansittart £58,333.—Mill's British India, vol. iii. p. 327.

they had been accustomed in the east. Cossim therefore soon found that the interests of the two parties clashed: accordingly, having arranged his civil and military affairs as well as he was able, he determined to remove farther from his protectors: leaving Moorshedabad, he fixed his residence at Monghir, a strong place about 200 miles higher up the Ganges; but he soon found that no distance could secure him from the effects of commercial rapacity. Though the revenue was on much better footing than before his elevation, it still fell very short of its former extent: for the servants of the company, presuming on services rendered to Mir Cossim, took this opportunity of following up a system of commercial usurpations, which they had begun under the reign of his predecessor; broke through all the restrictions of former subahdars; and engaged largely in the interior trade of the country: also employing the company's dustuck, or exemption from transit duties, in their own private speculations, they were now getting all the trade of the province into their own hands, annihilating the subahdar's customs, and draining up the main sources of his revenue. When representations of this evil were made to governor Vansittart, he endeavored to redress it by gentle means, soothing the indignation of the subahdar, cautioning the individuals complained of, and lending his authority to assist the native officers in checking illegal traffic: but the mischief still went on increasing; the collectors of revenue were not only resisted, but often punished on the spot; and the utmost violence was used by those who affected to consider any opposition to their rapacious schemes as a daring violation of the company's rights, and a sign of the subahdar's intention of expelling the English from his territories. 'At the present time,' says Mr. Mill, 'it is difficult to believe, even after the most undeniable proof, that it became a common practice to force the unhappy natives to buy the goods of the company's servants, and of all those who procured the use of their name, at a greater, and to sell to the company's servants the goods which they desired to purchase at a less than the market price: the native judges and magistrates were resisted in the discharge of their duties, and even their functions were usurped: the whole frame of government was relaxed; and in many places the zemindars and other collectors refused to be answerable for the revenues.

'The president, aware of the prejudices which were fostered by a majority of the board against both the nabob and himself, submitted not to their deliberation these disorders and disputes,

till he found his own authority inadequate to redress them. The representations, presented to them, of the enormities to which the private trade gave birth in the country, were treated by the majority of the council as the effect of a weak or interested subserviance to the views of the nabob; while they received the complaints of their servants and agents against the native officers, more often in fault, according to Hastings and Vansittart, from laxity than tyranny, as proofs of injustice demanding immediate punishment; and of hostile designs, against which effectual securities could not be too speedily taken. Of the council, a great proportion were deriving vast emoluments from abuses, the existence of which they denied; and the president obtained support from Mr. Hastings alone, in his endeavors to check enormities, which a few years afterwards the court of directors, the president, the servants of the company themselves, and the whole world joined in reprobating with every term of condemnation and abhorrence.'[3]

Observing the progress of this provocation on one side and resentment on the other, knowing also the strong interest which Mir Cossim had in maintaining his connexion with the English, Mr. Vansittart determined to have an interview with the subahdar; hoping that by explanations and mutual concessions some arrangement might be made for removing the causes both of injury and of complaint. Accordingly, he set out, with Mr. Hastings as a coadjutor; and on the twentieth of November, 1762, arrived at Monghir, where he was received by the subahdar with every mark of cordiality and friendship. In the conference that ensued, the nabob asserted, that if the servants of the company were permitted to carry on the traffic of which he complained, and to draw all the revenue into their own hands, it would be much more for his interest to throw the trade intirely open, and to collect no customs on any kind of merchandise: 'for this,' said he, 'would draw merchants into the country, and increase my revenues by encouraging the cultivation and manufacture of goods for sale; at the same time it would cut off the principal subject of disputes which have disturbed that good understanding between myself and the English, which, more than any other object, I have at heart.'

It was impossible not to be struck with the force and justice of these observations: but Mr. Vansittart, though he

[3] Mill's British India, vol. iii. p. 293.

knew, as he himself declares, the interior trade, grasped by the company's servants, to be a usurpation, was yet 'unwilling to give up an advantage which had been enjoyed by them, in a greater or less degree, for the last five or six years.' A still stronger reason probably was, that he knew himself unable to make them 'give it up;' and therefore limited his endeavors to the placing it on such a foundation as appeared best calculated for the exclusion of abuse. He proposed that the interior trade should lie open to the servants of the company, but that they should pay the same duties as other merchants; and that, for the prevention of all disputes, a fixed and accurate rate of imposts should be established. To this arrangement the nabob, who saw but little security against a repetition of preceding evils in the assignment of duties, which, as before, the servants of the company might refuse to pay, manifested extreme aversion: at last, with great difficulty, he was induced to comply; but declared his resolution, if this experiment should fail, to abolish all duties on the interior commerce, and in this way at least place his own subjects on a level with strangers. To prevent the inconvenience of repeated stoppages, it was agreed that nine per cent., a rate immensely below that of other traders, should be paid on the prime cost of the goods at the place of purchase, and that no farther duties should be imposed:[4] Mr. Vansittart returned to Calcutta on the sixteenth of January, 1763, thinking that he had entered into the above arrangement with the good wishes of his colleagues, and anticipating their approbation of his conduct: but he was not aware of their rapacious desires; for long before his arrival his measures had been condemned, and a determination taken to disavow the treaty which he had concluded, not only as made without authority, but as being dishonorable to the British name, and pernicious to the company's interests: and when accounts were received, that the subahdar's officers had acted on their master's instructions, and had in some instances retaliated on the company's officers, who in ignorance of the late convention resisted their authority, instructions were sent to the agents of the several factories, ordering them not only to trade as before, but to seize and imprison any native officer who should dare to oppose them. It was also determined in a full council, by all its members except the president and Mr. Hastings, that, according to the imperial firmaun, the company's servants had a right to the

[4] Mill's British India, vol. iii. p. 297.

internal trade of the country; that the duties which they paid were a matter of compliment only; and that for the future none should be levied on any article except salt, for which only two and a half, instead of nine per cent., should be paid: at the same time, the adjustment of all disputes was vested in the hands of factors and residents; the very persons who were drawing enormous profits from the abuses complained of.

The subahdar was returning from an unsuccessful expedition against Nepaul, when his chagrin was heightened by the report of these acts in council, and the imprisonment of some native officers: accordingly, in the first burst of indignation, he executed his previous resolution of abolishing the transit duties, and throwing open the trade throughout his dominions. Then was exhibited an instance of that shameless tyranny which is too often connected with a commercial spirit of government: for the company, not content with insisting that their own goods should be exempt from duty, now demanded that those of all other traders should be made subject to it; accusing the subahdar of a breach of peace with the British nation, on account of its abolition: finally they deputed two of their members, Messrs. Hay and Amyatt, not merely to remonstrate with the nabob, but to enforce their conditions, under the pretext of obtaining them by negotiation.

In the mean time, between the violence committed by the company's officers on the one side, and that of the subahdar on the other, much animosity was engendered, and commerce suffered: but at Patna the flames of discord first broke out, where Mr. Ellis, the company's resident, a man of impetuous temper, had employed his sepoys to act against the natives, and had gone to the length of spilling blood. Before the middle of April war was seen to be inevitable: when Mir Cossim, conscious of inferior strength, and apprised of the council's intention, applied for assistance to the emperor, and to Sujah Dowla, nabob of Oude.

On the twenty-fifth of May, some boats laden with arms, and proceeding up the river to Patna, gave intimation to the subahdar that the English were preparing for their last appeal: he accordingly stopped them at Monghir; but declared himself willing to release them, if Mr. Ellis were removed from his station at Patna, and replaced by another resident: the council however resolved to treat this action as one of great atrocity, and sent orders that the deputation should return instantly to Calcutta, unless the arms were allowed to proceed. In the mean time, Mr. Ellis, at his own especial request, had

been furnished with unlimited powers; and had employed them in preparations to take the city of Patna: intelligence of this having reached the ears of Mir Cossim, he at once seized on the arms; and though he permitted Mr. Amyatt to depart, he retained Mr. Hay as a hostage for the safety of one of his own officers imprisoned by the English. News of Mr. Amyatt's departure being made known to Mr. Ellis on the twenty-fourth of June, that very night he surprised the garrison and captured the city; a proceeding, which roused the violent passions of the Indian chief to such a pitch, that he sent a force to arrest Mr. Amyatt on his passage down the Ganges: but that unfortunate gentleman, refusing to submit, and firing on the nabob's people, was killed with many others in the conflict. Both parties now engaged openly in war, the fortune of which seemed at first to turn against the English; for although they had obtained possession of Patna, yet despising the enemy too much, they had neglected every precaution, while they dispersed themselves on all sides to pillage that opulent city. The Indian governor, informed of this disorder, and reinforced by a detachment from Monghir, attacked his scattered enemies, destroyed many of them, and compelled the rest to take refuge in the fort: finding themselves however unable to make a defence, they abandoned it by night, and endeavored to escape; but were surrounded, taken prisoners, and sent off to Monghir.

When these transactions were made known at Calcutta, the council, who had previously determined on the measure, solemnly deposed Cossim Ali Khan, and again set up Mir Jaffier, whose eagerness to enjoy a luxurious though degraded throne, induced him to promise compliance with any conditions. 'Beside confirming the grant obtained from Mir Cossim, of the revenues of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, for defraying the expense of English troops employed in defence of the country, the new subahdar granted exemption to the trade of the company's servants from all duties, except two and a half per cent., which these servants themselves, in their liberality, agreed to pay on the single article of salt: he consented also to rescind the ordinance of Mir Cossim for a general remission of commercial imposts, and to exact the ancient duties from all, except English dealers: he engaged to maintain 12,000 horse, and 12,000 foot; to pay to the company thirty lacs of repees, on account of their losses and expenses of the war; to reimburse the personal losses of individuals; and to permit no Europeans, except the English, to erect fortresses in the

country.'[5] Thus not only was the secret discovered of ruling under others, but the practicability of keeping a competitor for the musnud, to be set up and taken down as it might suit the interests of these Tyrian princes.

On the second of July, major Adams took the command of the British troops, consisting of 650 Europeans and 1200 sepoys, exclusive of the Indian cavalry; and this was afterwards augmented by 100 Europeans and a battalion of sepoys from Midnapore: the new subahdar also proceeded to the army, which he joined on the seventeenth.

The first movement of Mir Cossim was to send three of his generals, with their respective divisions, to protect the city of Moorshedabad, the ancient capital of Bengal. On the nineteenth, they were attacked and totally defeated; on which they retreated toward Geriah, where they had received orders to take up a position, and were reinforced by a large detachment from Mir Cossim's army; that division of it, which was disciplined after the European manner, being commanded by one Sumroo, a German adventurer, who had come to India as a sergeant in the French service. On the twenty-third, the English army advanced, and next day stormed the lines at Mootejil, which success gave them possession of Moorshedabad. On the second of August they reached the plain of Geriah, where the enemy waited to give them battle: it was the severest conflict they had hitherto sustained, lasting four hours; during which time the British line was once broken, and the eighty-fourth regiment being attacked both in front and rear, two guns were captured: but the steady valor and discipline of our soldiers having exhausted the impetuosity of their assailants, these were driven back with great slaughter, and retreated toward the Oodwa, a small river on which Mir Cossim had formed a strong intrenchment, defended by a numerous train of artillery, with a deep ditch fifty feet in breadth, and full of water. At this period, the subahdar himself, having sent his family and treasures to the stronghold of Rotas, and put to death the rajah Ramnorain with several other chiefs and persons of distinction, left Monghir, and advanced toward the Oodwa; but halting at a safe distance, he contented himself with sending forward a detachment of his troops. On the eleventh of August our army approached the intrenchment, which occupied the whole of a narrow space, extending from the river to the foot of the hills; the ground in front being

[5] Mill's British India, vol. iii. p. 305.

swampy, and offering no approach except a narrow space on the bank of the river. This formidable post detained the British troops nearly a month, during which time they were exposed to harassing attacks of cavalry; but on the fourth of September major Adams had recourse to a stratagem: observing that the enemy's forces trusted to their position, and were negligent on the side of the mountains, he made a feint of attacking them where their principal strength lay, while a body of his troops marched by night to the opposite quarter, which was less guarded, and which at daybreak he easily mastered: the Indians, being astonished at this unexpected movement, and thrown into inextricable confusion, abandoned their intrenchment with precipitation, and made no farther stand till they came to Monghir, whither the subahdar had fled before them. Here however Mir Cossim remained only a few days, to secure some of his effects, and to refresh his troops: he then proceeded toward Patna, carrying with him the English prisoners, and killing by the way two Seets, great Hindu bankers, whom, during his disputes with the company, he had seized and brought from Moorshedabad.

The British army now advanced to the attack of Monghir, which after a siege of nine days capitulated; and nothing then remained to complete the reduction of the province but the capture of Patna: this last hold of the subahdar's waning power he had taken great precautions to strengthen; throwing into it a garrison of 10,000 troops, and protecting the suburbs with large bodies of cavalry: irritated however by the progress of the English, and unable to check them in the field, he took a terrible revenge in the massacre of his prisoners. The foreign general Sumroo was selected for the perpetration of this bloody deed; and on the day intended for its execution, Mr. Ellis, with about forty of his companions, was invited to a grand entertainment in Sumroo's tent; but in the midst of their conviviality, while they supposed themselves protected by the laws of hospitality as well as of war, the barbarian gave orders to his Indian troops to cut their throats: even to these men however the task was so revolting, that they hesitated to obey, and with true gallantry demanded that the prisoners should be supplied with arms to make their own defence: this of course was rejected; and the soldiers were compelled by menaces and blows to complete the horrid butchery, while the other captives were murdered in private: so complete was the dreadful catastrophe, that even an infant child of Mr. Ellis was included in it. Mr Fullerton, a surgeon, who, in the

exercise of his professional skill, had acquired the esteem of the subahdar, was the only person spared.

The dreadful crime however was not long unrevenged: on the sixth of November, after a siege of eight days, during which the enemy made several gallant sallies, major Adams took Patna by storm; and thus became the first European conqueror of Bengal. In four months he had gained four decisive battles; forced the strongest intrenchments of the country; taken two regularly fortified places, as well as large quantities of arms and stores; and subdued, with a comparatively small army, the most resolute, skilful, and powerful enemy which Great Britain had yet encountered in the East.

Mir Cossim now took refuge in the dominions of Sujah Dowla, nabob of Oude, who in a former treaty had bound himself by a solemn oath on the Koran to support him in case of need: at first however his friend refused to admit his troops; and appearing as if unwilling to embroil himself with so formidable a power as that of the English, declared his wish for the continuance of peace: still he could not help regarding the advances of such neighbors with a suspicious eye; and at length an alliance was concluded between himself and the emperor Shah Allum, for the restoration of Mir Cossim, who, being thus encouraged, was not long in drawing together a considerable force: in this resolution the confederates were confirmed, not more by the death of major Adams, whose name had become very formidable, than by a spirit of mutiny and disaffection now prevailing among the British troops, disappointed in the rewards they had expected for their great and successful services; so that in the month of March, 1764, when major Carnac arrived to take the command, he was unable to push the war into Sujah Dowla's dominions; and in April, when the enemy advanced, with 50,000 men, supported by a suitable train of artillery, he found himself under the necessity of retreating before them, and encamping under the walls of Patna: even in this position the British were attacked on the fifth of May; Sumroo, with the choicest infantry and cavalry, assailing them in front, while the main body took them in the rear: the battle was long, and severely contested: but before sunset the enemy was in full retreat, though the English were too fatigued to pursue them.

During the remainder of this month the native troops hovered round the British camp, keeping it in constant anxiety, but never attempting to bring on a general engagement: in the mean time, the crafty nabob of Oude opened a correspondence

with Mir Jaffier, under the hope of obtaining possession of some portion of Cossim's territories: the English however would listen to no proposals, without the previous surrrender of Mir Cossim and Sumroo: to this act of treachery Sujah Dowla refused his consent; and as the rainy season advanced, and his treasury became exhausted, he determined to retire into his own country: at this time also, Shah Allum, uneasy under the treatment which he met with from the rapacious Sujah Dowla, opened a communication with our general; who rejected his terms of reconciliation, and despatched a force to hasten Sujah Dowla's retreat.

Soon afterwards, major Hector Munro arrived from Bombay, with a considerable body of troops, to assume the command of the army, which he found very generally infected with a spirit of mutiny: this he determined to repress by immediate measures of severity; and being informed that a battalion of sepoys had just gone off to join the enemy, he gave instant orders that they should be pursued and brought back: this being done, he received the fugitives with all the troops drawn out under arms, and then ordered their officers to bring forward fifty of the most daring and depraved characters from among them; of these twenty-four of the worst were again selected, and subjected to a court-martial of native officers, by whom they were found guilty, and condemned to suffer death, as the commander in chief might direct: his order was immediately given, that four of them should be tied to as many pieces of artillery, and blown into the air;—a mode of execution, as merciful to the sufferers as it was appalling to the spectators: on this, four grenadiers sent a petition, that as the post of honor was usually assigned to them, they might suffer first; in which request they were indulged: but after the execution of these men, the officers of the sepoys then in the field, came to the major and informed him, that the native troops would not permit any more to be put to death: on hearing which determination, he ordered the artillery to load their field-pieces with grape-shot; and having drawn up the European troops with the guns between the ranks, he commanded the native battalions to ground their arms; assuring them, that if they attempted to move, he would give instant orders to fire. All obeyed; sixteen more of the culprits were blown from the guns: and the remaining four sent to another cantonment, where they suffered the same fate. This timely severity put an end to the mutiny; and on the fifteenth of September, the whole army, consisting of 1500 Europeans and 7500 native

troops, was ordered to move; on the twenty-second of October they came up with that of the confederates, defended by an intrenchment, with the Ganges on their left, and the fortress of Buxar in their rear; while before them lay a morass judiciously lined with cannon, and which could neither be passed nor doubled without extreme danger: the major, perceiving their position to be very strong, deferred his attack until he had well explored it; keeping himself however prepared, lest they should anticipate his intentions: nor was his precaution unnecessary; for on the following day the Indians advanced towards his camp, and began a regular and galling fire, against which it was impossible to press forward for the space of two hours: at length, after several skilful manœuvres, executed with great intrepidity, our troops were enabled to pass the morass on the left, and bring their adversaries to close combat; when the latter suffered a complete defeat, leaving 6000 dead on the field of battle, and blowing up their ammunition before they began their retreat: they however stopped all pursuit, by destroying a bridge of boats on a stream which they passed, about two miles from the place of conflict.

This important battle gave a decisive blow to the power of Sujah Dowla: the next day brought an application from the emperor to the British commander, who instantly wrote to the presidency for instructions, and received authority to conclude a treaty; but before the order arrived, Shah Allum, complaining of being kept like a state prisoner by the nabob, separated his troops from the confederacy; and marching with the English army, encamped close to it every night. The indefatigable Munro determined to follow up his victory by an attack on a strong fort belonging to the nabob, called Chandageer, situated on a lofty and almost inaccessible rock. A practicable breach being effected, a storming party was sent by night to the assault; but while they were attempting to climb up the steep ascent, the Indians, with equal vigilance and activity, overwhelmed them with torrents of stones, and buried multitudes under the rubbish. On the following night the assault was renewed, but with no better success; when major Munro desisted from such attempts, and encamped in the neighborhood of Benares, an almost open and opulent city, which it was advisable to defend against the enemy's incursions: here the nabob's minister presented himself with overtures of peace, promising twenty-five lacs of rupees to the company, twenty-five to the army, and eight to the commander: but the surrender of Mir Cossim and Sumroo being,

as before, demanded, Sujah Dowla, though he had so far broken the laws of hospitality toward the expatriated subahdar, as to arrest him in his tent, and seize on his treasures, still dreaded the infamy of delivering up a fugitive: he offered however to let him escape, if it would satisfy the English: as for Sumroo, he proposed to invite that murderer to an entertainment, and to have him despatched in the presence of any witnesses whom they might approve; but this expedient being rejected, the negotiation was broken off: that however with the emperor continued, by which he proposed to make over to the English the territory of Bulwart Sing, late zemindar of Benares, in return for their aid in establishing him in Allahabad and the rest of Sujah Dowla's dominions: he also promised to reimburse them out of the imperial treasury for all expenses that might be incurred in this service.

Meanwhile in consequence of the exhausted state of the treasury at Calcutta, Mir Jaffier was sent for, and every effort used to extract from him more abundant supplies: in addition to the sums for which he had contracted in the recent treaty, he was made to promise five lacs of rupees a month toward the expenses of the war, so long as it should last: the payments also to individuals, stipulated for under the title of compensation for losses, were swelled to a very oppressive amount. When this article was first inserted in the treaty, he was told that the sum could not exceed ten lacs; but it was soon stated at twenty, then at thirty, afterwards at forty, and at last fixed at fifty-three lacs: although the company, as lord Clive declared, had taken possession of at least half his revenues; 'and though allowed,' says the same authority, 'to collect the other half for himself, he was no more than a banker for the company's servants, who could draw on him for presents, as often, and to as great an amount, as they pleased.'[6] To all other causes of embarrassment in Mir Jaffier's finances, were added the abuses perpetuated in the private trade; which not only disturbed the collection of revenue, but impeded the industry of the whole country. In such circumstances, it was useless to harass the subahdar by demands for larger payments: the importunities to which, with great want of delicacy, he was subjected, conspiring with the infirmities of age, and a constitution worn out by sensuality, soon hurried him to his grave. After languishing some weeks at Calcutta, he returned to Moorshedabad, and died in January, 1765.

[6] Lord Clive's Speech, March 30th 1772, in Almon's Debates, vol. x. p. 14.

Then came on the agreeable ceremony of creating a nabob, or subahdar; for on such an occasion the company's servants were in the custom of receiving presents of immense value. Mir Jaffier, a short time before his death, had nominated his second son, Najim u Dowla, then about twenty years old, to be his successor, in preference to Miran, the heir of his eldest son; and the council, knowing the moderate talents of this youth, determined to support him in the succession, after previously fixing the terms of their protection. The right of nomination, in fact, belonged to the Mogul emperor; and he would willingly have bestowed on the company itself the viceroyalty of these rich provinces,[7] the dewanee of which he had repeatedly offered to them: but their modesty as yet drew back from the ostensible assumption of dominion; while they possessed all its essentials: besides, it was the interest of their officials to keep things in their present state: the elevation of a subahdar was an event which made their fortunes by the presents he distributed:[8] from the company they could expect nothing but the demand of an accurate account of revenue received and sums expended.

In the treaty concluded with the new subahdar, it was resolved by the English to take th emilitary affairs intirely into their own hands, allowing the nabob a few troops only for the purposes of state ceremony: by this arrangement no inconvenience could arise from his power; a better provision would be made for the defence of the country; and a still greater share of the revenue would pass through their hands: they also bound him to nominate a deputy or guardian, for conducting the affairs of government, who was not to be removed without their consent. The young nabob was very desirous of employing in this office one of the principal ministers of his late father, named Nuncomar, a deceitful and dangerous person, strongly suspected of carrying on a treacherous correspondence with Sujah Dowla, and of having been an instigator of Mir Jaffier in his endeavors to throw off the British yoke. This inclination therefore of Najim was firmly opposed, and the appointment fell on Mahomed Rhiza Khan; against which

7 Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

8 These were, on the present occasion, as follow:—To Mr. Spencer £23,333, to Messrs. Playdell, Burdett, and Gray, (one lac of rupees each,) £35,000, to Mr. Johnstone, £27,650, to Mr. Leycester £13,125, to Mr. Senior £20,125, to Mr. Middleton £14,291, to Mr. Gideon Johnstone £5833.—Mill's British India, vol. iii. p. 328.

nothing perhaps could be alleged, beyond the exaction of about twenty lacs of rupees, as a gratification to those who made it. The other conditions of the treaty were nearly the same as those which had been made with the old subahdar. Beside the revenues of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, the five lacs of rupees per month were to be continued during the war, and as long after it as the state of the country might require: also the grand privilege accorded to the company's servants, of trading in the country without paying dues, was carefully preserved.

For a long time the court of directors in England had been very inactive controllers of their affairs in the east, deceived by false representations of things at a distance, and buoyed up by unlimited expectations of a golden harvest: but when it was discovered that their revenues were nearly exhausted by destructive wars; while continual reports arrived of rapacity and mismanagement, of risings in the country, of mutiny among the troops, and massacres of their servants, they began to rouse themselves to a sense of their danger and their duty.

In a letter to the governor and council dated the eighth of February, 1764, they severely condemned the rapacious and unwarranted proceedings of their officials; rightly attributing one grand source of disputes and difficulties with the native governments, to that unwarrantable and licentious mode in which the private trade was carried on: to remedy these disorders, a positive order was given,—'that from the receipt of this letter a final and effectual end be forthwith put to the inland trade in salt, beetel-nut, tobacco, and all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country.'

In the following May, however, this order was partially revoked or modified; for at a general meeting of proprietors, it was strongly urged, to the satisfaction of a majority present, that the servants of the company ought not to be suddenly deprived of advantages, which had hitherto enabled them to revisit their native land after as short a period, and with as independent a fortune, as they had a fair right to expect: the court therefore, on the first of June, contented itself with directing the governor and council to take the inland trade into consideration; and after 'consulting the nabob, to form a proper and equitable plan for carrying it on.' Attention also was called to the disgraceful practice of extorting presents;—a practice, which not only subjected the ruling powers of the country to endless and unlimited oppression, but prepared the

way to continual perfidy in the officials with regard to their employers; for not those plans of policy which were calculated to produce beneficial effects to the company's interests, but such as were best calculated to multiply occasions for enriching its servants, were recommended and enforced. The court therefore resolved that this benefit should at least be transferred to other recipients; and accordingly ordained, that new covenants, dated May, 1764, should be executed by all their servants, civil and military, binding them to pay to the company the amount of every present received from the natives, in case it exceeded 4000 rupees; and not to accept of any gift, amounting to 1000, but with the consent of the president and council. An unlimited power of receiving or extorting gifts was indeed reserved to the company itself: but it was thought, and justly too, that its servants would not be so rapacious for their masters as they had been for themselves. Enough, however, must have already appeared in the history of this company, to prove the urgent necessity for a strict and frequent interference of our legislature, to correct excesses by which the national character itself was compromised. 'Few of the individuals, by whom this corporation was either governed or served, were alive to those feelings which impel the mind to great and good acts; they recognised scarcely any other motive, but the desire of enriching themselves, their relations, and dependents. Their strength as a community, which was the consequence of this system, increased with their means of corruption and oppression: but such was the venality of the times, that hardly any, however high their station, escaped the contamination.'[9]

At this period lord Clive was selected, after a violent opposition, as the only person capable of retrieving affairs in India: he was accordingly appointed governor, commander in chief, and president of the council of Bengal: also he was instructed to form a select committee, of himself and four gentlemen named by the court, who might act on their own authority, when expedient, without even consulting that council.

Accordingly his lordship, accompanied by Messrs. Sumner and Sykes, two of the gentlemen appointed to form the select committee, sailed from England on the fourth of June, 1764, and landed at Madras on the tenth of April, 1765: there he learned that the great dangers which had brought him to India were already past; that the troops were submissive; that

[9] Sir J. Malcolm's History of India, vol. i. p. 30.

Cossim Ali was expelled; the mogul under English protection; and Mir Jaffier dead. The sentiments and line of conduct adopted by this celebrated man, which are so important to a right knowledge of Indian affairs, may be learned from the following letter to Mr. Rous, dated seven days after his arrival:—

'We are at last arrived at that critical period which I have long foreseen; I mean that which renders it necessary for us to determine whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves: Jaffier Ali Khan is dead, and his natural son is a minor; but I know not whether he is yet declared successor: Sujah Dowla is beat from his dominions; we are in possession of them; and it is scarcely an hyperbole to say, that to-morrow the whole Mogul empire is in our power: the inhabitants of the country, we know by long experience, have no attachment to any obligation; their forces are neither disciplined, commanded, nor paid as ours are: can it then be doubted that a large army of Europeans will effectually preserve us as sovereigns; not only by holding in awe the attempts of any country prince; but by rendering us so truly formidable, that no French, Dutch, or other enemy will presume to molest us? You will, I am sure, imagine with me, that after the length we have run, the princes of Hindostan must conclude our views to be boundless; they have such instances of our ambition, that they cannot suppose us capable of moderation: the very nabobs whom we might support would be either covetous of our possessions or jealous of our power: ambition, fear, avarice, would be daily watching to destroy us: a victory would be but a temporary relief to us; for the dethroning of the first nabob would be followed by setting up another, who from the same principles, would, when his treasure admitted of keeping up an army, pursue the very path of his predecessor. We must indeed become nabobs ourselves in fact, if not in name;—perhaps totally so without disguise; but on this subject I cannot be certain until my arrival in Bengal.' With such views of the bold and splendid measures which it was now time to pursue, and anticipating the important effects which those dazzling transactions would have on the price of the company's stock,—this great man forgot not to deliberate how they might be directed so as to bear on his own pecuniary interests: he wrote on the very same day to his private agent in London as follows:—'I have desired Mr. Rous to furnish you with a copy of my letter to him of this day's date, likewise with the cipher, that you may be enabled to understand what

follows: the contents are of so great importance, that I would not have them transpire. Whatever money I have in the public funds, or any where else, and as much as can be borrowed in my name, I desire may be, without loss of a minute, invested in East India stock: you will speak to my attorneys on this point: let them know I am anxious to have my money so disposed of, and press them to hasten the affair as much as possible.' The letter to Mr. Rous, says Mr. Mill, and the short period which intervened between lord Clive's arrival in Bengal and his assuming the dewanee, would leave no doubt that he commanded all the money which he possessed, or which he could borrow, to be invested in Indian stock, contemplating the rise of price which that measure was calculated to produce; had he not, when examined on the subject of this letter by the committee of the house of commons, declared absolutely, that he had not, while at Madras, formed the resolution to seize the dewanee.[10]

Early in May, and only four days after his arrival at Calcutta, lord Clive instituted the select committee, although two of its members were absent from the presidency, major Carnac with the army, and Mr. Verelst at a distant settlement: his plea was the corruption found to prevail in the government, of which he drew a frightful picture: 'but I was determined,' says he, 'to do my duty to the public, though I should incur the odium of the whole settlement.' Mr. Mill very justly remarks,[11] that it was the interest of the committee to make out a strong case for their assumption of extraordinary powers; and that one would scarcely reckon four days an ample space for collecting a satisfactory body of evidence on so extensive a field: also that the language in which the conduct of the company's servants is described, ought to be received with caution, and doubtless with considerable deductions; though in the light of an historical document it is singularly curious and important: as such, it cannot be omitted with propriety in a detail of Indian transactions.

'On my arrival,' he tells the directors, 'I am sorry to say I found your affairs in a condition so nearly desperate, as would have alarmed any set of men, whose sense of honor and duty to their employers had not been estranged by the too eager pursuit of their own immediate advantages. The sudden, and among many, the unwarrantable acquisition of riches, had introduced luxury in every shape and in its most pernicious

[10] British India, vol. iii. pp. 332, 333.
[11] Ib. pp. 351. 353.

excess: these two enormous evils went hand in hand through the whole presidency; infecting almost every member of each department: every inferior seemed to grasp at wealth, that he might be enabled to assume that spirit of profusion, which was now the only distinction between him and his superior: thus all distinction ceased; and every rank became, in a manner, on an equality. Nor was this the end of the mischief; for a contest of such a nature among our servants necessarily destroyed all proportion between their wants and the honest means of satisfying them. In a country where money is plentiful, where fear is the principle of government, and where your arms are ever victorious, it is no wonder that the lust of riches should readily embrace the proffered means of its gratification; or that the instruments of your power should avail themselves of their authority, and proceed even to extortion where simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity. Examples of this sort set by superiors, could not fail of being followed proportionably by inferiors: the evil was contagious, and spread among the civil and military, down to the writer, the ensign, and the free merchant.' The language of the directors held pace with that of the governor: in their answer to the letter, from which this extract is taken, they say,—'We have the strongest sense of the deplorable state to which our affairs were on the point of being reduced, from the corruption and rapacity of our servants, and the universal depravity of manners throughout the settlement. The general relaxation of discipline and obedience, both military and civil, was hastily tending to a dissolution of all government. Our letter to the select committee expresses our opinion of what has been obtained by way of donations; and to that we must add, that we think the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been gained by the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct ever known in any age or country.'

That the delegation of extraordinary powers to some agent or other had become indispensable there can be little doubt; for although the letters of the directors, respecting trade and extortion of presents, had been duly received previously to the arrangement made with Najim u Dowla, not only had enormous gifts been exacted with unabated rapacity; but the unlimited exercise of inland trade, with an exemption from duties to which others were subject, had been made a leading article in the treaty with the new subahdar.

After settling some disputes at the presidency, and executing covenants respecting presents, according to the order

of the directors, lord Clive set out on a progress up the country, for the double purpose of forming a new arrangement with the subahdar respecting the government of the province, and of concluding a treaty of peace with the nabob of Oude. As to the first, it was an easy task, where one party had only to command and the other to obey: the principal alterations made, were the addition of two associates to the office of naib subah, or guardian, held by Mahomed Rhiza Khan, for the superintendence of all state affairs; and the employment of an English resident, whose vigilance might control the native powers, and preserve harmony: the subahdar himself was required to resign his whole revenue and its management to the company; receiving from them an annual payment of fifty lacs of rupees, subject however to the superintendence of the naib subah and his two associates. Before we proceed to the second object of the governor's journey, it will be necessary to give a concise account of the military operations which took place after the battle of Buxar, and the unsuccessful attack on the fortress of Chandageer.

Major Munro having been at this time recalled to England, the temporary command of the army devolved on sir Robert Fletcher; who, being desirous of distinguishing himself, like his predecesssors, resolved to attempt some arduous enterprise before the arrival of general Carnac, who had been appointed to supersede him: with this view he broke up his camp before Benares on the fourteenth of January, 1765, at midnight, and marched in quest of the enemy, who retired with precipitation before him: he then turned his attention to another attack on Chandageer; which, as it was made in the same manner as before, would probably have been equally unsuccessful, had not great discontent prevailed in the garrison, who had received no pay for the last six months. Three breaches being made in the walls, and the troops prepared for an assault, those within the fortress broke out into open mutiny, and obliged the governor to capitulate; when that brave man, on delivering up the keys to sir Robert, expressed with tears his extreme regret that he was unable to make a better defence. 'I have endeavored,' said he, 'to act like a soldier; but deserted by my prince, and threatened by a mutinous garrison, what could I do?' then laying his hand on the Koran, and pointing to the troops, he added;—'God and you are witnesses, that I yield through necessity; and that to the faith of the English I trust my life and fortune.'

The British commander now met with little resistance in the

conquest of Allahabad, a large and strong city, near the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges, which seemed to complete the ruin of Sujah Dowla. After this exploit, general Carnac, taking the command, made the best dispositions in his power for securing the late conquests, and for restoring order and government in the country. Sujah Dowla, during his negotiations with the English, had endeavored to obtain assistance from the Rohilla chiefs, and a body of Mahrattas, at that time under Mulhar Row, in the vicinity of Gwalior: the latter of these had in reality joined him, but the former only amused him with deceitful promises: he had also been abandoned by Sumroo, who with a body of about 300 Europeans and a few thousand sepoys, was bargaining for service with the Jaats. Determined however to make a last effort for the recovery of his power, he meditated a desperate attack on a separate division of the British army under sir Robert Fletcher: but Carnac having received notice of this intention, effected by forced marches a junction with that officer, and met the enemy on the third of May in the neighborhood of Corah. The nabob's troops, still intimidated by the remembrance of Buxar, made but a slight resistance: the Mahrattas, on whom he chiefly depended, being soon dispersed by our artillery, fled with precipitation toward the Jumna, across which they were driven; and being then dislodged from their post on the opposite side, were obliged to retire into the mountains.

In this desperate state of his affairs, Sujah Dowla took the only prudent step which was yet in his power, resolving to throw himself intirely on the generosity of his foes, and to place his person in their hands: accordingly, on the nineteenth of May, he signified to the British commander that he was on his way to meet him. General Carnac received the fallen chief with every mark of distinction, and all parties recommended a delicate and liberal treatment; but the final adjustment of terms was reserved for the arrival of the governor.

As it was found that the defence of Oude would cost the company more than its revenue was worth; and as lord Clive was instructed by the directors to conciliate the native powers by disclaiming all desire of conquest or extension of territorial possessions, it was determined to restore to the nabob the whole of his dominions, after reserving Corah and Allahabad for the Mogul emperor; and this, without occupying any of his strongholds, or imposing conditions which might irritate his high spirit, and imply a suspicion of his integrity. At a first conference, on the second of August, he expressed his gratitude

for these advantageous terms, agreeing readily to pay fifty lacs of rupees on account of the expenses of the war, and engaging not to molest the rajah Bulwart Sing, an ally of the English, who held the zemindaries of Benares and Gauzeepore, dependent on the province of Oude.

Harder terms than these were imposed on the emperor, which called forth expressions of his resentment; but the humbled descendant of the great mogul was in no condition to contend with the corporation of British merchants. An income of twenty lacs of rupees, formerly granted from the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, was continued to him, and he was put into possession of the two cities above mentioned; but all debts due to him from the revenue were cancelled, as well as the proceeds of a jaghire amounting to the annual sum of five lacs and a half. The most important article however in this treaty, was one which conferred on the company the dewanee of the three provinces, constituting it in reality sovereign of that large and fertile territory: together also with the dewanee, the emperor was required to confirm to the company all their possessions throughout the nominal extent of the Mogul empire. Among these confirmations, a jaghire belonging to lord Clive himself was not forgotten; the dispute about which he had compromised before his departure from England, by agreeing to relinquish its revenue, after ten years' enjoyment, if he should live so long.'[12] All expectations however that the riches of the company would increase in proportion to its acquisitions were soon found to be fallacious; for a clashing of interests existed between the directors in England and their functionaries in the east: the former were anxious to augment the commercial dividends by that territorial income which they now possessed: but their agents in India were bent on converting the surplus to their own advantage.

On the seventh of September lord Clive resumed his seat in the select committee, whose interference was required by the pressing question of the inland trade. At a meeting on the seventeenth of October, it was resolved that some respect should be paid to the orders of the directors, by giving up the trade in tobacco, and other articles from which little advantage was derived; while that profitable portion which included the beetel-nut and salt was retained for the exclusive profit of the company's agents: at the same time, the natives were liberated from the arbitrary injunctions which obliged them both to buy

[12] Mill's British India, vol. iii. p. 363.

and to sell at prices fixed according to the will and pleasure of those functionaries. Some vague and ambiguous expressions in the company's letter of the first of June, enabled their servants to give that interpretation to it which pleased them; and what suited their own interests was naturally to be expected: even the governor himself and the members of the select committee [13] formed a partnership for buying up large quantities of salt, on which in the course of nine months they cleared a profit of forty-five per cent. For lord Clive an apology was made, that he engaged in this transaction for the purpose of advancing the fortunes of some gentlemen whom he had brought out with him to India: but, says Mr. Mill, very justly, 'if a proceeding is in its own nature shameful, there is but little saved, when the emolument is only made to go into the pocket of a connexion.' [14] On the tenth of August, after these purchases had been for some time completed, it was resolved in the select committee, though two only of its members were present,[15] that a monopoly should be formed of the trade in salt, beetel-nut, and tobacco, to be carried on exclusively for the benefit of superior servants; and a regular table of the shares apportioned to each functionary was drawn up; a duty being made payable to the company, which was expected to produce an income of £100,000 a year: agents also were appointed at different stations to make the contracts, and to sell the goods to native merchants and retailers at fixed prices. In defence of this scheme, it was alleged, that by the late regulations of the company, and especially by the prohibition of presents, the pay of its servants was barely sufficient for their decent maintenance; and it seemed absurd to suppose that men in these circumstances, deprived of the means of enriching themselves by lawful means, would long abstain from those that were illegal. At this time, however, it must be observed, the committee had not the shelter of an ambiguous expression; for the directors had, in clear and positive terms, prohibited such a trade, by a letter dated the fifteenth of February, 1765.

Several measures for the company's advantage were at this period put into operation by the governor; but the reduction of military expenses, which were rapidly absorbing the whole revenue of the country, particularly engaged his attention.

[13] With the exception of general Carnac, who was with the army.

[14] British India, vol. iii. p. 366.

[15] Messrs. Sumner and Verelst.

As long as the troops were employed by Mir Jaffier and Cossim Ali, these potentates, in order to cherish the good will of the officers, allowed them double pay; and at that time the directors had no motive for altering an arrangement, which gratified their servants, and was a burden only to the nabob: but when territorial assignments were fixed for the maintenance of troops, it was soon perceived that what could be withdrawn from them would be so much added to the company's resources; and repeated orders had been issued for stopping this double pay: the dangers of the country however rendered the services of the army so necessary, that the local government had not yet dared to put these orders into execution; but when peace was concluded with Sujah Dowla, the select committee thought the proper season had arrived for obeying injunctions, on this point: accordingly the double pay was stopped; but as the order was issued and enforced without due preparation or care to watch its effects, a dangerous combination was started to resist it; almost every officer in the army engaging to throw up his commission at a given time. Beside a solemn oath of secrecy, they bound themselves, by a similar obligation, to preserve the life of any officer condemned by a court-martial, at the hazard of their own; and each individual executed a bond, under a penalty of £500, not to receive back his commission, without the restoration of double pay. To increase the danger, this conspiracy was formed at a time when a force of more than 50,000 Mahrattas were hovering round the frontiers, in the neighbourhood of Corah and Allahabad; having been drawn thither at the instigation of the Mogul emperor, desirous of their assistance to regain possession of his ancient capital: he had exhausted every art of persuasion to induce the English to reinstate him there; but this scheme of ambition did not suit their policy, and the presence of the Mahratta troops was by no means agreeable to them.

On occasions of great emergency, like the present, no man could be more fitted to act than lord Clive, whose political sagacity was only equalled by his undaunted courage and quick decision. When informed of the extent of this combination, he took prompt and vigorous steps to subdue it: directions were sent to the commanding officers of all the divisions, to find if possible the leaders; to arrest those who appeared most dangerous; and, above all things, to secure the obedience of the sepoys and native commanders; letters were despatched to Calcutta and Madras, ordering the utmost

exertions to be made for a supply of officers; while the governor himself hastened towards Monghir. On the road he received a letter from colonel Smith, who commanded at Allahabad, informing him that the Mahrattas were in motion; and that officer was instructed, that, if reduced to extremity, but not before, he might promise compliance with their demands.

The disaffected officers, however, expecting no disclosure, had not concerted any ulterior plans; nor had they seduced the soldiers from their allegiance: besides, the native troops were steady, and the commanders of all the brigades felt confident of being able to put every European to death in case of open mutiny; the appearance of which had been quickly suppressed by the sepoys at Monghir: so that the officers at this station submitted quietly to be sent down to Calcutta, and the greater part of those belonging to the other brigades retracted their adherence to the conspiracy. Thus a combination, which, if it had been carried on with a longer view by the confederates, or met with less vigor and decision by the governor, might have caused a complete revolution in India, produced, through its ineffectual resistance, a more complete subjection on the part of the disaffected. Some of the offenders were allowed to resume their service, on profession of repentance; but others were tried by a court-martial and cashiered: among the latter was sir Robert Fletcher, who, though he had been one of the most active in subduing the conspiracy, was found to have known and encouraged its formation.

After the suppression of this dangerous plot, Clive proceeded to Chopprah, where he was met by deputies from the Mahratta chiefs, by a minister from the emperor, and also by Sujah Dowla, who continued to express great satisfaction at his treaty with the company, and cheerfully advanced the remainder of the sum due according to the terms of it: all connexion between the shah and the Mahrattas was dissolved; and the formation of a league for mutual defence, including them, as well as the Jaat and Rohilla chiefs, was left to be conducted by Sujah Dowla.

During these transactions, the subahdar Najim u Dowla expired, a few days after the governor had left him, at Moorshedabad. His brother, Syeff u Dowla, a youth of sixteen, was elevated to the vacant musnud; but a change in this nominal office was now considered much less important than the removal of a British resident.

On the governor's return to his presidency, the affairs of

private trade, so dear to individuals, still demanded his attention. The native merchants, to whom salt, so necessary an article in India, had been disposed of by the society, had retailed it at prices which the committee deemed highly extravagant: instead, however, of endeavoring to establish a freer competition, they took the easier method of fining offenders to the extent of their profits, and despotically ordering the commodity to be retailed in future at a fixed price. On the third of September, the business of this inland trade society was arranged for another year, though the court had declared it to be 'an express breach and violation of their orders,' and had directed that every offender should be sent to England, as guilty of a breach of covenant. The committee, however, proceeded to a renewal of the monopoly, as if the orders of the directors were not worth a moment's regard; lord Clive turning them carelessly aside, and observing, that when they were sent, 'the company could not have had the least idea of that favorable change in the provinces, whereby the interest of the nabob, with regard to salt, was no longer immediately concerned;' a remark, observes Mr. Mill, which merits attention, as a reason against lodging the government of India in his hands at a distance of half the circumference of the globe: for the disobedience of servants to their employers it was no justification at all; because, extended as far as it is applicable, it rendered the servants of the company independent, and constituted them masters of India.[16]

One important change was made in the regulations of the preceding year: the salt, instead of being conveyed into the interior, was to be sold at Calcutta, and the several places of manufacture, which saved the expense of transportation by the society's agents: a maximum price was also fixed; and no sooner was this arrangement completed, than a proposition of lord Clive was brought forward and passed by the committtee, prohibiting any future president or governor from engaging in the concerns of trade; in lieu of which he was to be allowed a commission of one and one-eighth per cent. on the public revenues: why the members of the select committee and council should not have been subjected to the same restrictions, it is difficult to conceive.

On the eighth of December, 1766, letters arrived from the court of directors, condemning the inland trade society altogether, commanding its dissolution, and throwing open the trade to natives, free from European competition. As there

[16] British India, vol. iii. p. 380.

was no longer any plea for misconception, this order was obeyed; but on account of existing contracts, the dissolution of the society was deferred till September, 1768. On the sixteenth of January, 1767, lord Clive signified his intention of returning to England on account of his health; and as the abolition or confirmation of the select committee was left to his discretion, he declared for its continuance; naming as members Mr. Verelst, Mr. Cartier, colonel Smith, Mr. Sykes, and Mr. Beecher. He departed in the Britannia; and on the seventeenth of February Mr. Verelst succeeded him in the president's chair.

APPENDIX.

No. I. p. 204.

LETTER FROM MR. PITT TO A FRIEND IN THE CITY.

[Quoted in Woodfall's edition of Junius, v. ii. p. 454.]

'Dear sir,

FINDING, to my great surprise, that the cause and manner of my resigning the seals is grossly misrepresented in the city, as well as that the most gracious and spontaneous marks of his majesty's approbation of my services, which marks followed my resignation, have been infamously traduced as a bargain for my forsaking the public, I am under a necessity of declaring the truth of both these facts, in a manner which I am sure no gentleman will contradict. A difference of opinion with regard to measures to be taken against Spain, of the highest importance to the honor of the crown, and to the most essential national interests, and this founded on what Spain had already done, not on what that court may farther intend to do,—was the cause of my resigning the seals. Lord Temple and I submitted in writing, and signed by us, our most humble sentiments to his majesty: which being overruled by the united opinion of all the rest of the king's servants, I resigned the seals on Monday the fifth of this month, in order not to remain responsible for measures which I was no longer allowed to guide. Most gracious public marks of his majesty's approbation of my services followed my resignation: they are unmerited and unsolicited; and I shall ever be proud to have received them from the best of sovereigns. I will now only add, my dear sir, that I have explained these matters only for the honor of truth, not in any view to court return of confidence from any man, who, with a credulity as weak as it is injurious, has thought fit hastily to withdraw his good opinion from one who has served his country with fidelity and success, and who justly reveres the upright and candid judgment of it; little solicitous about the censures of the capricious and ungenerous. Accept my sincerest acknowledgments for all your kind friendship, and believe me ever with truth and esteem, my dear sir, your faithful friend,

'W. PITT.

No. II. p. 205.

LORD BUTE TO LORD MELCOMBE.

'My dear lord, October 8th, 1761.

'Whatever private motives of uneasiness I might have in the late administration, I am far from thinking the dissolution of it favorable in the present minute to the king's affairs. Without entering into the causes of the war, it is sufficient to observe that it was a national one, and that the honor of the nation is pledged to support its allies. You, my dear lord, cannot dislike it more than I do; but as we have to do with a most treacherous enemy, whose infamous prevarications have been so lately experienced, we must act with redoubled vigor and spirit before we can hope to bring them to such a peace, as, from our repeated conquests, this country has a right to expect; such a peace as I, with this load of responsibility, durst put my name to. This being so, the change of a minister cannot, at present, make any remarkable change in measures. I sigh after peace, but will not sue for it: not out of pride, or from motives of self-preservation, though both might without dishonor be urged; but from a thorough conviction that begging it from France is not the way to procure it. Indeed, my good lord, my situation, at all times perilous, is become much more so, for I am no stranger to the language held in this great city: our darling's resignation is owing to lord Bute, who might have prevented it with the king, and he must answer for all the consequences; which is, in other words, for the miscarriage of another's system, that he (Pitt) himself could not have prevented. All this keeps up my attention, strengthens my mind without alarming it, and not only whispers caution, but steadiness and resolution.'

LORD MELCOMBE TO LORD BUTE IN ANSWER.

'October 8th, 1761.

'I look on the late event as an obstacle removed, not as added, when peace is to be treated. Your lordship may remember some months ago I said I thought Mr. Pitt would never make peace, because he could never make such a peace as he had taught the nation to expect. I suppose he now sees that we are within a year or two of an impracticability of carrying on the war on the present footing; and may think, by going out on a spirited pretence, to turn the attention and dissatisfaction of the public on those, who, at a ruinous expense, are to carry on his wild measures; and whom they have been taught to dislike by a total abandonment of the press to him and his creatures, which I humbly hope you will now think proper to employ better. I can say nothing to the treachery and prevarication of France in the late negotiation, being totally ignorant of all those transactions. I intirely agree with you, that we must act with redoubled vigor in carrying on the war, to obtain a proper peace; but it may be a doubt whether carrying it on in the same manner may be prudent, or even long practicable. I also

agree with your lordship, that where honor is pledged it must be maintained; but whether, after what we have done to support our allies, we cannot maintain it at a less expense than ruin to ourselves without effect to them may be worthy of consideration. I am sensible I am writing on a subject I am no ways informed about: the mention made of it in your letter drew me into it: I have done: as you approve of the war, in what manner soever you carry it on, I shall never say one word more against it, public or private; but will support it whenever I am called on, as well as my distance from the scene of business will allow me: I told you I would do so, after having told you my opinion, when you did me the honor to command me to be your friend. Indeed, my dear lord, I wish and mean to serve you, and am sure I never will disserve you, which is, I fear, as far as my poor abilities are likely to go. I am glad the king has given the seals; and as you approve of it, I suppose they are well disposed of: the sooner it is public the better: I wish they had been given as soon as they were resumed. I think there can be nothing in the house of commons; if there should, Mr. Grenville, no doubt, will do his best: I fear he is not very popular there; but you have friends there that are so, and very able too. The insolence of the city is intolerable: they must, and they easily may be, taught better manners. I was bred a monarchy man, and will die so; and I do not understand that men of that rank are to demand reasons of measures, while they are under his majesty's consideration. As to you, my dear lord, I am sure you laugh at them; and know that the moment they are threatened with the king's displeasure, those who were at your throat will be at your feet.

END OF VOLUME XI.

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